

INTRODUCTION

Music and Race, Their Past, Their Presence

RONALD RADANO & PHILIP V. BOHLMAN

THE OCCLUSION OF RACE IN MUSIC STUDIES

Ghostbusting

A specter lurks in the house of music, and it goes by the name of race. For most observers, it hovers and haunts barely noticed, so well hidden is it beneath the rigors of the scholarly apparatus. The racial specter, nonetheless, has an enormously powerful, nearly palpable effect welling up from the depths of the discipline of musical scholarship, it casts a shadow across this putatively "objective" enterprise. The specter of race is not the edifice of "black music" to which the musical disciplines, when acknowledging the racial, reflexively turn. It is, rather, the ideological supposition that informs this reflex. The specter of race is neither the root cause of the music historian's enduring commitment to the sameness of European studies nor the reason for the ethnographer's preoccupation with the performance of difference. It is, rather, the commonsense opinion that what distinguishes the musically racial from the not-racial is as simple as telling the difference between black and white. Race lives on in the house of music because music is so saturated with racial stuff, it inhabits the semiotic site supporting what Wahnema Lubiano calls "The House That Race Built." As a key signifier of difference, music for America—in its wonder, in its transcendence, in its affective danger—historically conjures racial meaning. As a matter of course, so too has musicology, in its various guises, "grown up" in this racial house. It is part of the fabric of the social, and its approaches, concerns, and orientations necessarily reflect the force of that experience. As

a modern discipline, however, musicology—in its historical, structural-analytical, and ethnographic expressions—has sought to deny the racial dimension. Indeed, it has done so vigorously, to the point where claims of a “racial dimension” must now run against the common logic of musical disciplines as viewed and taught today.

To recognize the racial in historical musicology, music theory, and ethnomusicology, however, is not to say that their interpretive strategies are necessarily predetermined by racial tenets, nor is it to defame a scholastic tradition as patently “racist.” It means only to acknowledge the enduring effects of a racial imagination that has grown within the contexts of modernity to take on a peculiarly American cast in the twentieth century. Without committing to foundationalist premises, one might argue that the racial as it has been variously constituted within the contested spaces of difference is the Western ground on which the musical experience and its study has been erected. Like the Jubilee Hall of W. E. B. Du Bois’s famous depiction, it is a house “ever made of the songs themselves, . . . full of the voices of [our] brothers and sisters, full of the voices of the past” (Du Bois [1903] 1989: 177–78).

Since the rise of the “new musicology” in the late 1980s—a term reserved principally for historical rather than ethnographic studies—scholars have sought to advance a more critically informed kind of scholarship, largely by turning to the realm of what has been rather casually labelled “postmodern theory.” In the work of Carolyn Abbate, Philip Brett, Lawrence Kramer, Susan McClary, Ruth Solie, and others—and in the wake of Joseph Kerman’s call for the end of tenacious positivism in *Contemplating Music* (1985)—musicology has widened the range of possibilities determining what critical practice may mean. So has it broadened the landscape of viable musical arenas, building on the important work in ethnography and American music history appearing since the 1950s (e.g., Alan Merriam, Bruno Nettl, Richard Crawford, Charles Hamm).

Historical musicology has, nonetheless, still remained remarkably committed to the affirmation of what is and is not racial, most typically by adhering to an easy binary of what is and is not European. This commitment, so commonly grounded in aestheticist assumptions about “the music itself,” continues to determine the norms of scholarship as they are reflected in presentations at annual meetings, in essays featured in academic journals, and in patterns of academic hiring still committed to perpetuating the European canon.¹ These regressive tendencies have had an adverse effect on what the new musicology has thus far been able

to achieve, constrained as it has been to maintaining a still rather narrow, politically uncontested realm of inquiry.

The political is, indeed, one of the principal motivations for the expansion of new musicological practice. Many successes have been achieved, and it is in this light that the new musicology continues to voice its challenges. Yet despite these advances, musicology endures the burdens of aestheticism and commitment to repertory that preclude a more radical refiguring of scholarship. Even when employing destabilizing strategies owing variously to poststructuralist practices from Foucault to Derrida or celebrating the subversive tactics of queer theory, scholars have commonly remained committed to a historically and musically centered “Europe” whose cultural and artistic boundaries, despite centuries of global encounter, remain tidy and distinct. Indeed, musicology continues to embrace a kind of invented tradition of Continental coherence and absolute value, together with modes of reception that go hand in hand with them, in apparent ignorance—notwithstanding the important contributions of Gary Tomlinson (1995) and V. Kofi Agawu (1995)—of the decisive challenges of postcolonial theory to these European constructs first articulated thirty years ago, most forcefully by Edward Said’s assault on orientalism (Said 1978; see also Spivak 1988, Gilroy 1993, Bhabha 1994, Gikandi 1996).

Living in a world fraught with racial and social conflict, so overwhelmed with the intertext of “popular” and “artistic” mediations, musicological reception studies still remain largely limited to presentist constitutions of art and modes of experience based in the narrow subculture of the concert hall. To hear beyond this center would mean simply to position the invented tradition of “European music” within the world around us. To hear the social and racial in the European canon would mean to take seriously Adorno’s account of modern listening (1978), to observe intertextually those other “unsung voices” of the global constellation in which we live (Abbate 1991).

Within the ethnographic initiatives that constitute the musical subdiscipline of ethnomusicology, a similar kind of selectivity has burdened scholarly engagement. In part this selectivity repeats historical musicology’s musician-centered orientation, which has produced a similar kind of aestheticism in the unrelenting internalist fascination with the complexities of non-Western musical “form.” But instead of devoting attention to a body of musical works, ethnomusicologists have more often committed to the sanctity of a well-worn methodological procedure based in mid-century scientism (Bohman 1991). In this way, they follow

another version of "positivism" in their commitment to objective scientific analysis and to the collecting of "world music" largely uncomplicated by the new hermeneutical challenges of history, philosophy, and anthropology (e.g., Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur, and James Clifford). Particularly problematic is ethnomusicology's investment in rather fixed concepts of ethnicity, culture, and subjectivity that extend from the legacy of area studies and which have been subjected to critique in many humanistic studies.²

As we argue in this essay, ethnomusicology's commitment to "culture," in particular, developed as a response to the pernicious theories of race that had consumed musical thought in the early twentieth century. And yet the tenacity of this commitment has ultimately had a limiting effect on the kinds of questions ethnomusicologists now allow themselves to ask. Despite a laudable political activism nearly absent in mid-century Europeanist music studies, scholars have typically pursued a narrow interpretive focus that leaves out important, sustained debates of racial and cultural concepts. Indeed, ethnomusicology—notwithstanding the important individual contributions of Kenneth Gourelay (1978, 1982), David Coplan (1994), Anthony Seeger (1987), and others—seems as a whole at once to acknowledge and even to welcome political and racial debates while simultaneously displacing them. Because of its dual allegiances to methodological orthodoxy and area studies, it avoids the more slippery critical problems facing contemporary social theorists, even when those racial matters become centralized within the ethnographic encounter now consuming so much attention in global and post-colonial studies.³

As the various musicological projects move into the twenty-first century, they reflect, each in their own way, an emerging openness to the most pressing issues facing cultural investigation while nonetheless remaining constrained by the burdens of valuative assumption and disciplinary procedure. In their orthodoxy, they perpetuate the invisibility of race in musical studies while reinforcing the discipline's place on the margins of contemporary scholarship. With *Music and the Racial Imagination* it is our explicit goal to formulate and advance new thinking about musicological practice as it seeks to situate the discipline more explicitly within the existing conversation about cultural politics and race.

The essays in the book build from the body of work on the study of race in contemporary cultural studies as it foregrounds the importance of music within these lines of inquiry. Working from the legacy of African-American social and cultural criticism which first identified the important linkages between the musical and the racial—Frederick Douglass,

W. E. B. Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Amiri Baraka, to name the most obvious—*Music and the Racial Imagination* proceeds from the many versions of post-black-arts movement criticism that have flourished in the wake of Houston Baker's seminal study, *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature* (1984).⁴ So does it acknowledge its debt to the many important studies of the social construction of race, perhaps most notably Henry Louis Gates's "Race," *Writing and Difference* (1986). Aggressively multidisciplinary, *Music and the Racial Imagination* offers a forum for scholars outside musicology to direct their prior consideration of racial matters onto musical questions, as it encourages music scholars to begin to speak to racial ideas from their specialist perspectives. In this way, we hope to broaden the conversation about the associations between race and music, while also widening the range of musical reflection—to explore the range of possibilities of what "talk about music" can actually mean.

In this book we define "racial imagination" as the shifting matrix of ideological constructions of difference associated with body type and color that have emerged as part of the discourse network of modernity. As a crucial aspect in the constitution of identities and groups, it carries profound social meaning. As an ideology, however, the racial imagination remains forever on the loose, subject to reformation within the memories and imaginations of the social as it blurs into other categories constituting difference (Fields 1982; Eagleton 1991; Scott 1991; West 1987, 1994; Bhabha 1994). As such, "race" defines not a fixity, but a signification saturated with profound cultural meaning and whose discursive instability heightens its affective power.

The focus on race's musical aspect in *Music and the Racial Imagination* will centralize something curiously missing from social- and cultural-studies analyses, despite the common lip service paid to its importance. The imagination of race not only informs perceptions of musical practice but is at once constituted within and projected into the social through sound. Intersecting the musical and discursive, it becomes a "soundtext" that circulates within as well as across national boundaries. The subjects explored by the scholars whose essays are gathered in this collection speak to musical power as those scholars, collectively, call for engaged musicological reflection on the critical and historical study of race and culture.

Hearing Racially

One might comprehend this special racial significance by observing the "social situation of music" according to the classic Hegelian dialectic of

Self and Other (Adorno [1932] 1988). While this relation describes a patently European construct, still it provides, at least for the purposes of analysis, a way of observing the effects of musical and racial experience in which European concepts are inextricably linked. The longstanding metaphysical properties associated with music enhance the imagination of racial difference: race contributes fundamentally to the issues of belonging and ownership that music articulates. At individual, group, and broader social levels alike, few deny that one type of music can be possessed and claimed as one's own, while there are other musics that belong to someone else. The music of this variously constructed Self is different from the music of the Other, therefore making it possible to articulate and even conceptualize the most basic differences through our musical choices.

One can conceive of at least two kinds of metaphysics of ownership that establish the conditions of difference. The first of these results from the need to make music understandable, which is more often than not achieved through the attribution of linguistic properties to music; that is, to hear in music communication, signification, and meaning. The second derives from the technologies of music's production, which further control its distinguishing characteristics of selfness. Selfness therefore accrues to the objects and material culture of music, that is, bodies and instruments, but also the technologies and objects that represent music and allow it to be passed on from one member of a group to another (e.g., print culture). By possessing the objects containing music, one acquires the power to own and control the ways in which music bounds the group for which it has meaning.

Race is imagined as a component of these issues of music because it is connected with understandability, belonging, and ownership, all of which is encapsulated as forms of identity. The Other cannot or should not own or occupy the music that the Self purports to own. In European music history, Richard Wagner was surely the most visible, though only one among legions of anti-Semites, to make claims that Jews distorted the language of European opera and vocal music because of their inability to control its language. Wagner's claims, however steeped in biological prejudice, addressed the linguistic distinctiveness of music as he understood its current historical and social presence. The metaphysics of musical technology takes obvious racialized form in South Asia, where only privileged castes, especially Brahmins, could perform certain types of instruments (e.g., the *vina* in Karnatak music). Historically, other instruments were left to the lower castes, for example drums to untouchables such as the *pariahs*. The instruments of both Karnatak and

Hindustani musics functioned as a racial mapping of the caste system itself, even as these categories have been increasingly subjected to critique by the musicians themselves (White, forthcoming).

Race is also fundamental to the ontologies of music, in other words to shaping basic concepts of what music is. Music's ability to represent essential metaphysical qualities enters profoundly into the discourse of race. Accordingly, music contributes substantially to the vocabularies used to construct race. The putative inseparability of dance and music in the African diaspora is an obvious case in which music participates in the construction of race. The metaphysical essence of "African music" is, therefore, physical and bodily. It derives from rhythmic patterns observed in the West as "complex" and from extensive improvisation that requires the participation of the entire body. One might argue that the more Africans are perceived as dancing, the more problematic the ontology of African music as a bounded metaphysics of sound has become. So have these same racialized discourses cast about to define ownership and otherness among non-Africans: whirling dervishes, Native Americans, "naturally rhythmic" gypsies.

The racialization of musical metaphysics rarely ceases with simple stereotypes that support claims of difference. By its very "nature," in fact, the ontological mapping of music onto race leads to stereotype and prejudice. In European music history, the most obvious case of a metaphysical otherness is the essentialized connection between speech and melody in Jewish music. On the one hand, Jewish histories of Jewish music (e.g., cantorial traditions of historiography that fill cantorial journals or monographs analyzing performance practice and repertory in the synagogue; cf. Baer 1883 and Friedmann 1908) stress that the maintenance of a truly Jewish music in the synagogue through centuries of separation from Israel could only have been possible because of the interdependence of Hebrew texts with the esoteric knowledge and ritualized performance of those texts. Knowledge of Jewish music required specialized knowledge and practice of a language unique to Jews. On the other hand, the view of an essentialized (or, to borrow from Baker et al., "referential"; Baker, Diawara, and Lindeborg 1996: 9) Jewish music as a bounded form of language spawned myriad prejudices about the inability to translate a Jewish musical metaphysics to a tradition where a knowledge of different languages was necessary. In the extreme forms of racial prejudice, a music would "sound Jewish" because its performer could not escape a race-specific predilection to a Jewish metaphysics of music.

In the racial imagination, music also occupies a position that bridges

or overlaps with racial differences. Music fills in the spaces between racial distinctiveness, and when it does, it undergoes another, albeit no less racialized, metaphysical transformation, which in this book generally falls under the rubric of hybridization or hybridity.⁵ Thus, music is a domain that different races, depending on interpretation and case, can potentially share, appropriate, and dominate; or that contains common syncretic practices. During the early centuries of European conquest and subjugation in Latin America, for example, missionaries, above all the Jesuits, and other colonizing forces used music to convert and control (Aracena 1999).

In these and many other colonial instances, however, domination quickly destabilizes, turning the direction of "influence" back upon the oppressors, and consequently unseating the simple logic of colonizer/colonized. The modern historiography of British-Pakistani music, for example, has depended on both the ontological uniqueness of South Asian and Western popular musics, and on the neat ways in which they fit together when they come into contact in transnational public culture, such as when European harmonic structures provide the syncretic template for the *bhangra* style of the Saffi Boys. The same can be said about the formations of Nigerian and Ethiopian forms of funk, which, in their homage to James Brown, define a crossnational racial meaning while simultaneously establishing local forms of musical significance. Music thus occupies a domain at once *between* races but has the potential of embodying—*becoming*—different racial significations. The concept of hybridity, then, does not signal a move away from racialized metaphysics, but rather serves to reinforce that metaphysics.

Music participates in many of the aesthetic and discursive constructions of race, and race provides one of the necessary elements in the construction of music. It might be useful to compare the difference between the ways music has been used discursively to construct the African diaspora with the ways music has provided the tools for mapping the landscape of ethnicity. Here, we deliberately distinguish between ethnicity and race, despite the effects of racial discourse in defining ethnic categories (Sollors 1986). Ethnicity, as we witness it on the American musical landscape, is constructed through choice and the exercising of options, whereas the racialization of music's metaphysics functions also to limit choices and options. Our concern, however, is primarily with the epistemes of musical discourse. Our basic argument is that discourses about music fundamentally derive from the construction and deployment of racial categories, just as these same categories grow ever more complicated and confused as a result of their sonic-discursive projection

within the metaphysics of music. It is through music that the "new ethnicities" proposed by Stuart Hall—identities of conditional difference rather than identities of unbridgeable separation—may be enacted by such theorizing of the musical within the racial (Hall 1987).

Looking at the effects of a globalized public culture provides a final way in this preliminary analysis to comprehend the discursive roles of music and race. "World beat" as it has been constructed and commodified via the effects of a transnational capitalism, depends on deracinated languages about music, just as it derives its "authenticity" from the significations of racial difference manufactured in modernism. The condition of ownership has, after all, been stripped from world music, for anyone able to buy CDs or turn on the radio or television can possess it. The juxtapositions and unlimited possibilities brought about through the deracination of world music suggest that music represents the heightened repetition and destabilization of meaning associated with the "postmodern condition" by calling attention to difference only to deny its political presence in the CD anthologies of "Planet Soup." The enduring debates over the collaborations of Western pop stars and non-Western locals—such as Paul Simon's seminal album, *Graceland*—show it to be perhaps the supreme example of a world music whose racial character augments the mediation attendant upon collaboration through deracination (Meinjes 1990, Hamm 1988). World musics, with all their pretense toward hybridity, are therefore no less constructions of race and music, both of which continue to depend on a mutual inseparability.

The new, deracinated racial discourses of today's postcolonial sound-world bring us back to the history of racial denial that has long informed the musicologies. The paradox is particularly striking because neither historical- nor ethno-musicological discourses could have taken shape as modern disciplines without the crucial element of race itself (see, for example, Blum 1991). These historical and historiographical issues will emerge throughout the present introduction, and they are evident in most of the essays in this book. The disciplinary dilemma faced by historical musicology when it confronts race and music is its preoccupation with sameness; that of ethnomusicology is its dependence on difference. Ethnomusicology in particular is implicated in this analysis largely because of its commendable effort to broaden the scope of musicological inquiry. And yet it constructs its ontologies of music by accepting—and celebrating—differences as if they were givens, as if world music were dependent on them. While it is true that ethnomusicology's embrace of difference has broadened the landscape of musical research—which

might otherwise have been left to the assumed supremacy of modern Europe—so has it reified forms of difference in ways no longer consistent with comprehensions of subjectivity and culture. Race, as the generating force of difference, is actually neutralized—or “erased”—because difference is shifted from human differences to musical differences, to the object of music itself. By locating race “on music,” both race and music become fetishized and denied.

At the end of the twentieth century, race is one of the most enduring factors contributing to the formation of musical difference. It is a component of the multiplex of musicological discourse, and one might argue that its import is repeatedly heightened with each attempt to secure its neutrality. It is therefore part of a litany of differences that is all too familiar: race, gender, class, ethnicity. Who dares to weight one more than the others? We are not arguing for or against any of these elements in the litany; on the contrary, close scrutiny reveals that they interact and interfere with each other's signification. Rather we are pointing out how the occlusion of race in a liberal musical discourse has meant that those realities have actually been denied. And we shall not deny the ironic cruelty that this paradox implies when the field denies those concerns it publicly claims as its own. Our concern, then, is to address the ways in which discourses about music can be constructed in order not to deny race.

THE PLACES OF RACE IN EUROPEAN MUSICAL HISTORY

The Place of Race 1: Premodern Terminologies

The concept of race, as a construct distinguishing one group of humans from another on the basis of shared biological appearances, emerges from a legacy of human difference-making that traces across humanity. Indeed, determining difference appears to be a common if not universal quality of human consciousness, showing up across diverse contemporary cultural circumstances as it reaches back to the recesses of antiquity (Applah 1992: 11–14; Hannaford 1996). But it is not until the early modern era, and then more precisely during the second half of the eighteenth century, that the modern concept of race is canonized. As Anne McClintock compellingly argues, this modern concept becomes constituted as part of a process of naming in which distinctions between race and gender blur into a discursive mix of male appropriative desire. What is more, naming records not only the intent of subjugation but expressions of fear

that populate the colonial imagination: of cannibals, licentious savages, violent creatures that together construct a monstrous rhetoric or “pompotropics” (McClintock 1995: 2–24; see also Pratt 1992, Wiegman 1995). Music comes to play a key role in this imagination of difference, as the multiplex significations of a metaphysical resonance share in the making of the context from which race emerges. The early discursive history of race and music, then, implicates Europe in its extent—at its margins and along geographical boundaries of interaction and conflict with the world beyond (e.g., Laftau 1724). From the beginning of any historiography of music and race, Europe is there, and its interaction with those it imagines as Others secures its places in that historiography (see Stocking 1968).

The word “race” first appears in Europe during the thirteenth century, when several Romance languages exhibit forms of it: *razza* (Spanish), *razza* (Portuguese), *razza* (Italian), and *race* (French). Philological evidence suggests that its usage in Romance languages, specifically Spanish and Portuguese, derives from the Arabic as a result of the Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula and further contact and cultural exchange between the European and North African sides of the Mediterranean littoral (Geiss 1988: 16). In Arabic usage, the term *razz*, whose Semitic etymology is the same as that of Hebrew *resh*, refers to the “head” or the “leader,” specifically the leader of a tribe or social collective. The Arabic concept of *razz* enjoyed widespread currency in North Africa after the Muslim conquest in 711 c.e., especially among Bedouin groups, where usage more broadly signified affiliational choices among group members. *Razz* applied to a collectivity whose members recognized relatedness to their “leader,”—relatedness, that is, in both biological and cultural senses. The biological genealogy of the group became to a large extent isomorphic with the cultural genealogy (see the essays in Fischer and Wolfingseder 1995). This isomorphic relation is, moreover, evident in one of the first distinctions of musical difference based on racial difference, namely that made by the North African polymath Ibn Khaldun in his “Introduction to a history of the universe” (1377, trans. Rosenthal, 1958). The geographical zones, running from east to west, into which Ibn Khaldun divided the world determined human differences because of characteristic influences of climate on the humors and, by extension, human disposition. In warmer, more southerly climates, sub-Saharan Africa for instance, the humors flowed more freely and yielded more animated expression of culture. Music, it followed in Ibn Khaldun’s ethnographic imagination, was more excited and impassioned in the lands of the south, less so in the lands of the north.

When the term *razza* appears in Spain during the Reconquista (1064–

1492), it already reflects both senses explicit in the Arabic *raz*. Increasingly during the Reconquista, however, *razza* came to imply noble bloodlines; that is, group connections to the head of a particular court, in some cases to royal courts (Geiss 1988: 17). The appropriate genealogy, based on familial ties, allowed one certain privileges vis-à-vis those unable to claim that genealogy. On the Iberian peninsula, race made a transition from Semic/North African applications to emerging European/Christian modes of classification. Because concepts of race in North Africa continued to designate affiliation to tribal genealogies, traceable eventually to a leader and through the leader's family, such concepts engendered mobility—in other words, a capacity to carry race with one or empower it to give coherence to a group, tribe, or extended family wherever these constituted themselves. European/Christian modes of classification depended much more intensively on the institutionalization of a polity and of the connection of polity to place. Racialized genealogies were relatively immobile and centralized, with racial selfishness accruing to the structures at the center (e.g., of court or monastic culture) and with otherness characterizing peoples beyond the periphery, those without properly institutionalized polities. In a very literal, that is, geographic, sense, European/Christian modes of human classification had become Eurocentric on the eve of the Early Modern era.

The term "race" itself found its way into other European languages relatively slowly, appearing in English first in the sixteenth century—figured in Shakespeare's Caliban (*The Tempest*) and the Jewish Shylock (*The Merchant of Venice*)—and in High German only in the eighteenth century; the modern Germanized spelling *Rasse* (or, in the Old High German, *Reiza*; see Hannaford 1996: 5), shows up only in the early nineteenth. As a concept, it served mainly as a term of classification attributed commonly to the late seventeenth-century writings of François Bernier. Bernier was a physician and author of travel accounts—a proto-physical anthropologist, we might say—who employed the term "race" (in this case, the French *race*) as a correlate of "species" (*espèce*), to delineate and bound a larger human collective. From this usage emerged the biological extensions of the concept, that is to the species classification of animals (e.g., *Rasse* in modern German, which describes both human races and animal species; cf. Geiss 1988: 17–18).

The etymological history, of course, should not be taken to mean that modern European determinations of difference had not already existed. Jews had been banished from England by the late thirteenth century; religious determinations traced across early modern and modern engagements with the Other and served to justify a legacy of violence, war, and

African enslavement (first by the Portuguese and Spanish, then the English); color, if not a biological determinant, nonetheless figured into more malleable constructions of intellect and character (Hannaford 1996, Horsman 1981, Pieterse 1992). In music, moreover, references to difference informed the derogatory projections of Jewishness in early eighteenth-century opera. It also served as a signifier of the magical in the Renaissance, a formulation reinforced as Europeans encountered similar music-social correlations among those whom they colonized (Tomlinson 1993).

Since the eighteenth century, the biological-cultural tension in genealogies of race has persisted. Indeed, with the emergence of canonized and institutionally implemented forms of racism, biologically determined genealogies have won the upper hand. In the philological and discursive histories of race, the specific rhetoric of "racism" is quite recent, reformulated through theories of Social Darwinism and appearing in a concerted form in the twentieth century, specifically to designate social and political action against Jews (Geiss 1995: 103–6; Gould 1981). The point we wish to make here is not that European languages were not filled with a surfeit of terms to express racial prejudice and hatred, but rather that the modern discourse of racism, which transformed the ways we must now understand the full history of the racial imagination, was constructed from the local and global events that determined European modernity (see Stocking 1994). Historically, modernity contained contexts that refocused and intensified many aspects of the European racial concepts as racism. Prevailing genealogies of music must take into account the ideological contexts in order to understand the full complexity of contemporary disciplinary praxis.

The Place of Race 2: Modern Conceptions

Race found its way into new spaces with the Enlightenment. These were the spaces of the mind, of scientific categories, of forms of desire, and of a world observed, processed, and remapped on the imagination of Europe (see, e.g., the readings in Eze 1997; see also Stafford 1991). Race was a common trope of Enlightenment observation encompassing the variety of discursive formations of imperial desire. So too was music part of this constitution, and in its ineffability, it signified the danger zones of global encounter. Together the matrices of race and music occupied similar positions and shared the same spaces in the works of some of the most lasting texts of Enlightenment thought. A historical continuum emerges, coalescing around the musical works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder, so much so that, by the end of the eighteenth

century music could embody differences and exhibit race. Once reified as a modern object or thing, it could undergo scientific observation because of its differences. Music's differences became as evident as those of color and the other human distinctions of a racialized world. The reification of that racialized "world," with its full geographical totality, becomes key to this racio-musical formulation. As Europe looks outward, so does it position music at the foreground of its modern racialist perspective.

Just as nature gave birth and form to race, so music exhibited remarkable affinities to nature. Nature was a source of difference, a gendered "virgin territory" that lent itself to control and male classification. Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de la musique* provides a place for difference in music by lexicographically opening and plotting a complex glossary of terms that provide the scaffold for a new musical discourse. The *Dictionnaire* pried open the language about music to make space for language about race. For Rousseau it was language and its presence in music that most represented racial difference. Especially in song, one observed distinctive ways in which the people of different nations and cultures sang; in voice, because of its embodiment of the physical, one could actually hear human difference. In one of the most frequently cited definitions, for the Swiss *ranz des vaches* (songs used in and derived from cattle-herding practices), Rousseau goes so far as to perceive semiotic attributes in song, which in turn transcend music by transforming vocal expression into the embodiment and exercise of memory:

We shall seek in vain to find in this air any energetic accents capable of producing such astonishing effects. These effects, which are void in regard to strangers, come alone from custom, reflections, and a thousand circumstances, which retraced by those who hear them, and recalling the idea of their country, their former pleasures, their youth, and all their joys in life, excite in them a bitter sorrow for the loss of them. The music does not in this case act precisely as music, but as a memorative sign. (Rousseau 1975: 267; cf. Seeger 1991: 347-48)

In Rousseau's *Dictionnaire*, French music was unlike Italian music because the French language allowed the singer to formulate sound in ways unlike the Italian language. Rousseau went a step further, however, because he made a case for those languages that were more natural than others, as well as those musics that demonstrated more direct connections to nature than others. Accordingly, nature provided for Rousseau a privileged site for the connections between music and language. As with language, the origins of song were rooted in nature; it was the artifice of

modern musical practices that violated the naturalness of human vocal expression. It was the human interaction and intervention with nature that unleashed the processes of racial difference and encoded them through music and language. Through song, the racial difference immanent in nature was given voice.

Herder took the categorization of music and human difference several steps further. In his two-volume compendium devoted to *Volkslieder* (Herder 1778-79) he gathered a diverse cross section of genres and repertoires. In this first and eventually canonic use of the term *Volkslied*, Herder cast his conceptual nets as widely as possible, attempting to gather in what we would today describe as examples of world music. There are song repertoires from throughout Europe, from both center and periphery (e.g., Gaelic and Baltic songs), and from accounts of missionaries and other travelers. These determinations of "folk," however quaint today, nonetheless grew from the same impulse of colonial desire and determinations of difference occupying early modernity. Jean de Léry's collections (1585) of indigenous songs from the Bay of Rio de Janeiro (see de Léry 1990; cf. Greenblatt 1991: 14-20), which Montaigne mediated in a form that resituated them in the burgeoning colonial discourse of Europe (see Montaigne 1952 and Bohlsman 1991), belong no less to the discursive space of European folk song than do ballads anthologized by Bishop Thomas Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy from the Scottish Border*. As a genre, Herder's *Volkslied* includes songs from oral tradition, popular street repertoires, and the works of famous poets, among them Shakespeare and Goethe.

Not only are folk songs drawn from the historical past and philologically determined present, but they construct a history of musical difference that connects societies of the past with those of the present. This universalizing effect gave to song a source of power that encouraged new melding of musical languages within the racial. Music's magic, indeed, spoke of an alchemical effect, and colonialist reports of an audibly fantastic otherness invited similar projections of the native danger.

In its transcendence, music could amplify points of contact within and without social groups; it reinforced group and (later) "national" boundaries as it enabled imagined transgressions linking peoples, only to increase its danger. Because of their transhistorical vision of song, whose origins are scattered about the world (though especially about Europe), folk songs came to create their place in a classical space of Enlightenment thought. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, this space was anything but classical; indeed, one might argue that it was overtly anti-classical. It gave language a new power by creating a new conceptual

space for thinking about "music itself." And Herder's notion of *Volkslied* was music in the broadest and most diverse sense, whose absoluteness gave it historical potential. As "music itself," folk song substantially intensified its displacement from the places in which its social functions relied on localized concepts of human distinctiveness rather than on the increasingly globalized concepts of racial difference.

*The Place of Race 3: Europe Looks Outward
(the Emergence of "World Music")*

Race, as we have seen, accrues meaning around spaces of Otherness. In these other spaces, race *sounds* different, that is, foreign and distant—displaced from the familiar. It has, nonetheless, an arresting quality because, its foreignness notwithstanding, race enables access. Its "logic of form" seems to sound across temporal and social distances, fulfilling for a legacy of Western observers an appropriative desire for the authentic, the universal. Throughout histories of culture contact—in travel accounts, in colonial encounters, in missionary and military excursions—music has arrested the attention of observers because of its putative accessibility and universality of meaning. For colonizing listeners, the music in spaces of Otherness seemed both remarkable because of its primordial foreignness, which identified the site of an original culture, and unremarkable because of its "primitiveness," which precluded its value as a cultural form. This paradox would inform cultural reports into the twentieth century, as European expansion brought with it new, contradictory imaginations of global sound.

The "looking outward" that constitutes the third place of race in this section extends from the European historical forces that were essential to constructing racial difference musically. With the escalation of imperialism, missionaries and colonial officials encountered music in the spaces of Otherness, that is, the music of "races" other than their own, and with this music they were able to imagine for the first time in European history a truly global music. Indeed, global travel profoundly influenced the European imagination of music, and the new discourses on music came to represent both the ideation and the repression of a newly displaced, transmutated European subjectivity. For just as difference broadened the musical imagination of the foreign and Europe's relational aspect to the same, so did it vitalize theories of a universal sound in which Europe remained centrally situated. One might even argue that the modern comprehension of "music" as such would not have come about without the emergence of a relational circumstance that positioned a European practice above and beyond the more authentic, yet

ultimately lesser, forms of "emerging" peoples. This European musical supremacy, in turn, would be reinforced by a new musical economy of public concert listening, guided by critics who provided determinations of meaning for an increasingly music-conscious bourgeoisie.

Representations of the musics of Others occupied the pages of European encounter, documented in the accounts of venturesome travelers and in scholarly musical monuments. Noteworthy examples were already appearing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among them Athanasius Kircher's encyclopedia *Musurgia universalis* (1650) and Joseph-Marie Amiot's *Mémoire sur la musique des chinois* (1779); the world voyages of Johann Georg Adam Forster (1772–75) and Jean François Galoup de la Pérouse (1785–88); together with ethnographic compendia such as Guillaume Chenu de Laujardière's *Relation d'un voyage à la côte des Cafres* (1686–89), Joseph-François Lafrau's *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (1724), and William Hamilton Bird's *The Oriental Miscellany* (1789). Within the context of the slave trade, moreover, several French and English writers documented the performance practices among blacks populating Africa and the islands of the Caribbean (Abrahams and Szwed 1983). If these commentaries were commonly and, into the eighteenth century, increasingly limited by supremacist assumptions of blacks' social, racial, and religious inferiority, they nonetheless revealed an emerging propensity to correlate difference with distinctive forms of sonic production. This recognition of difference grew into a veritable industry of "colonial desire" (Young 1995) that gave rise to a surfeit to texts, including a seventeen-volume historical compendium depicting musical and other cultural practices (Pinkerton 1808–14).

If seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentaries identified the makings of European chronicles of musical Others, the publications appearing in the nineteenth century revealed a new dimension of fascination. What had appeared in large numbers during the first decades would swell by mid-century, particularly after the European occupation of Africa in the 1870s (e.g., Corry 1807, Laing 1825, Beecham 1841, Ellis 1883). Whereas prior accounts variously depicted musical accomplishments, these later studies commonly positioned foreign musics in a decidedly inferior status in ways consistent with the growing orthodoxy of racist opinion, laden as it was with the pernicious claims of Social Darwinism. Paraphrasing a considerable body of philosophical speculation on the character of Africans, François-Joseph Fétis wrote: "Certe race n'a ni histoire, ni littérature, ni arts qui méritent ce nom" (1869, 1: 28). Despite the assertions of irreversible inferiority, however, writers continued with their labors, vividly documenting

"peculiarities," and sometimes providing detailed transcriptions of what were routinely portrayed as heathenish practices (Amiot 1779, Bowdich 1819, Brinner 1993).

This contradictory discourse of discipline and desire appears consistent with the rhetoric of masculinized conquest that narrated modernity's colonial mapping. Yet the intrusion of a Rousseauian conception of "natural ability" into a prior discourse of heathenish, black "noise" made for a peculiarly schizophrenic projection when attention focused increasingly on African and African-American musical practices (Radano, in press). In "Negro music" Europeans identified a kind of mimetic genius: despite their intellectual limits, blacks produced imitations of European singing that seemed to exceed the value of the "original." Such characterizations already appeared in texts from the seventeenth century, such as Richard Ligon's incredulous account of an African in Jamaica making music on a makeshift marimba. By the nineteenth century, however, they had become widespread, as observers sought to coordinate a racialist ideology of denigration with their own empirical observations of the creativity of human Others.

In *Histoire générale de la musique* (1869), for example, Fétis took pains to argue European superiority through a rationalist equation of beauty, intelligence, and harmony while working carefully through the details of non-European practices that so obviously fascinated him. In another influential text, *Primitive Music* (1893), Richard Wallaschek sought similarly to establish European superiority through a fine-combed analysis of a world of musical difference. Significantly, Wallaschek begins his study with a discussion of the musics of Africa, which form the locus of primordial ancestral expression and the base of humanity's intellectual and creative hierarchy. As the lowest of the low on the hierarchical level of civilization, African-American music was viewed as nothing more than "poems" set to European song.⁶ As the epitome of "racial music," the black voice identified both an origin and an absence coeval with an earlier, primitive moment.

THE UNSPOKEN HISTORY OF MUSIC STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The development of American musicological research is commonly portrayed as an extension and elaboration of German scholarly practices of *Musikwissenschaft* which emerged in the late nineteenth century (Kramer 1980). Within the scheme proposed by Guido Adler (1885), historical procedure takes form as a scientific quest for natural law couched in an

epistemological frame of organicism (Allen 1939, Kerman 1985). Ethnomusicological practice develops in its turn from a related comparative orientation (*vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, or "comparative musicology"), which Adler classifies as part of the analytical development of systematic musicology. The histories of the discipline that appear subsequently—and particularly after World War II—commonly build on this perspective, concentrating on the evolution of methodological procedure set apart from the vagaries of social and ideological change. "Intellectual history" is thus consistent with the internalist histories of music that have occupied the discipline for decades. That European music studies are now becoming better situated within the history of ideas gives hope for a more reflective, critical outline (e.g., Bohman 1987, Thomas 1995, Bent 1996). And the appearance of new historiographic studies that specify the racial dimension in Germany's own musicological development—such as Pamela Potter's (1998) groundbreaking work on music studies during the Nazi era—encourages a similar reassessment of the social circumstances surrounding musicology's emergence in the United States. To this end we offer here some brief reflections on the specifically American social arena in which U.S.-based musicologies take form. Contrastive though they may be, one can identify in each a discernible racialist background giving way to attempts to mask racial matters.

Musicology emerged during the early twentieth century alongside the institutions of culture that defined America's coming of age (DiMaggio 1982). As patrician classes forged institutions to propagate an elite sense of refinement, so did colleges and universities introduce a pedagogy that reinforced the liberal ideology of Enlightenment through the appreciation of cultivated arts. From the beginning, the directive was to edify and educate, to build on nineteenth-century affirmations of "taste" in response to the aesthetically and morally deficient "popular arts" overtaking public culture at the time. Institutional founders focused specifically on securing a canon comprising the major works of the European commonpractice era, (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), together with genres of choral music and American composition that reinforced a common aesthetic judgment. As expressions of culture, these repertoires seemed to rise above matters of ideology and race. And yet they did so by limiting representation to those emblems of civilization that, as we have seen, grew up within racial frames of whiteness.

Whiteness, in fact, is key to the formation of musical appreciation in American culture (Hill 1997), just as music occupies a key role in the making of the color line. With the rise of evangelical movements in the early

nineteenth century, for example, music served as a crucial vehicle for conversion, and its power was equally and enthusiastically embraced by blacks and whites. As the liminal states of racial and religious transgression began to intersect in belief and song, prohibitions were constructed to segregate along racial lines (Radano, in press). With the rise of blackface minstrelsy in the 1830s, moreover, "whiteness" specified a class position for those most vulnerable to association with African-Americans—namely, Irish immigrant workers. According to David Roediger, the Irish-American workers helped to solidify a conception of racial whiteness as a means of distinguishing themselves from those racially and socially beneath them. The means by which these same workers accessed whiteness through the performance of blackness revealed the contradictions inherent in a racial ideology that limited identification to only a portion of humanity (Roediger 1991; see also Ignatiev 1995).

The widespread appeal of black music meant that its effects were more than trivial; to be sure, black music had a transforming effect that entered into the very recesses of social experience (Michaels 1995). By the mid nineteenth century it had overwhelmed Euro-American public culture, informing the new interest in slave autobiographies, and, after the Civil War, in spirituals, coon songs, ragtime, and the courtly jubilees which Dvořák proposed as a vernacular "coloring" to spruce up America's musical blandness (Lott 1993, Fishkin 1993). Significantly, these "black musics" were never racially pure but, more typically, relationally determined. While performances sought overtly to signify one racial category of the other, their reception and comprehension commonly articulated something in between. The power of black music derived from this racial instability. It was, as Werner Sollors (1997) has described a similar phenomenon in the context of literature, "neither black nor white, yet both."

The contradictions inherent in the racial construction of music in America had profound repercussions on the emerging disciplines of musicology. Notwithstanding the work of Oscar Sonneck and other nation-minded (yet exclusively white-centered) writers on folk and band musics, historical musicology remained most obviously committed to the study of European and Euro-American art musical achievements. This orientation no doubt developed from multiple incentives, social, experiential, geographic, and otherwise. As a commitment to art, to *Musik an sich*, it expressed above all a progressive desire to move beyond the racial stereotypes contaminating public consciousness, to transcend the regressive impulses of America's own colonizing, imperial past. In so doing, however, musicology did not solve these issues but

merely deferred them. Possessing the option to focus beyond race, white scholars could claim an enlightened racelessness that only betrayed privilege and, in certain circumstances—particularly when the conversation turned to nationalist musical practices—a clear desire to maintain a Euro-centered racial preserve (Elson 1900, Sonneck 1927). Indeed, it is precisely the tenacity with which historical musicology has claimed the European and Euro-American traditions as its principal purpose that reveals the racial specter lurking in its house. What might a racial critique of this past mission say about our own desires and claims? What would it mean to hear Elliott Carter's rhythmic practices as responsive to the aesthetic challenges of jazz, to observe Copland's music beyond the Turneresque narratives of frontier freedom that so consume the public imagination?

Ethnomusicology's historical narrative similarly shares a genealogical relation with a nineteenth-century racial music. Whereas historians, however, resisted the power of racial ideas in musical experience, ethnographers embraced it, above all, to exalt difference. The first musical lines: In the depictions of ballads collected by Francis James Child and his Cambridge colleagues, in the forms of blackness that preoccupied the Wisconsin historian William Francis Allen (Allen, Garrison, and Ware 1867) and other students of slave song (Radano 1996), in the "imperialist nostalgia" that characterized the multitude of essays on Native Americans' music appearing directly after their massacre (Rosaldo 1989). In their pursuits, ethnographers sought to locate the "missing link" of authenticity that had since Rousseau defined the completion and unraveling of civilization. Yet whereas for Rousseau such contradictions developed from a sturdier sense of superiority and as a challenge to aristocratic confidence, for American ethnographers they revealed the contradictions of racial logic in a divided nation. The desire for and contempt of racial Others pervaded ethnographic texts that rapidly proliferated after the Civil War, leading a well-known observer of Native American music to dismiss strategically in a final paragraph of one of her monographs the artistic value of "primitive" song (Densmore 1909). Such contradictions were also at work when W. E. B. Du Bois himself cast disparaging comments about the "brothers and sisters" who had invented the music he proclaimed "the greatest this side the seas" (Du Bois 1903; see also West 1989: 143). The unrelenting power and appeal of "race music" would increasingly complicate the emergence of scholarly ethnographic practice, as the exaltation of science intersected with racial fantasies establishing America's social common sense.

These trajectories of popular "race music" were perhaps more important in the making of modern musical ethnography than any other single influence. Their appeal established the frames of reference in which modern narratives of difference would be written, refashioned according to nineteenth-century racist assumptions to express the musical imaginations of early modernism. Accordingly, the distinctions one makes between "scholarship," "journalism," and "entertainment" grow complicated, given the extent to which their rhetorics betray racial sensibilities consistent with early modernism (Torgovnick 1990). In Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (1926), for example, one hears the voice of blackface, just as it bears resemblances to the authenticities that inform the primitivist rhetoric of Harlem writers. The 1932 cartoon image of Betty Boop traipsing across the African jungle (in fear of the "spook" image of a disembodied Louis Armstrong) carries forth significations of exoticism and danger that define the black image in anti-Negro social criticism, and even in fieldwork depictions of the WPA and Library of Congress (Gabbard 1996: 205). These racialisms, moreover, informed even the most scientific observations. In his early exercise in mechanical transcription (phonography), for example, Milton Metfessel chose as his laboratory specimen the "Negro voice," dissecting, like Walter Benjamin's camera, the physicality of African-American sonic renderings (Metfessel 1928). This is not to condone the many dimensions of musical representation, whose purpose, quality, and achievement varied widely, but rather to identify the discourse network in which the conversation about racial music was taking place. Indeed, it seems not too much to say that racial difference consumed talk about music, a fact that carries profound significance when observing the growth of academic studies in ethnomusicology.

It is against this social background that the modern discipline of ethnomusicology emerges. At once it embodies these racial notions as it works purposely to establish a higher ground of representation. Recognizing the racialisms that so preoccupied scholars in the 1920s and 1930s, those of the post-War era worked to remove racial matters from the academic discourse. Unlike Europeans, however, who merely displaced "racial music," scholars of world music were forced to face it directly while searching strategically for better analytical models. For this they turned to the discipline of cultural anthropology, and particularly to the perspective of "cultural relativism" established in the work of Franz Boas, which offered a way of disrupting the aesthetic hierarchy that had preoccupied Europeanist studies. In its stead they proposed a kind of cultural egalitarianism that relegated aestheticist concerns—beyond

intracultural explorations of David MacAllester, Alan Merriam, and others—to mere judgments of taste.⁷ Stressing above all the objective claims of "science," ethnomusicology provided for music studies the outlines of a new Enlightenment Project, consistent with the calls for the "end of ideology" that would emerge in the late 1950s and 1960s (Bell 1960). That these calls, however laudable, also revealed a new kind of imperialism consistent with America's world dominance rarely entered into the reflections on the discipline's mission (for noteworthy exceptions see Gourlay 1982, Keil 1982, Agawu 1992). Discussion of race was absent as well; it seemed to evaporate from the scholarly discourse in the attempt to reach to higher intellectual order.

An important text in this "unspoken history" was Melville Herskovits's monumental *Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), which outlined a culture-based way of expressing essentialist positions once framed in racial terms. His dual emphases on culture over race and on the processes of transmission enabling diasporic continuities helped scholars to maintain arguments about musical essence without succumbing to the problematic views of biological determinism. Although Herskovits himself devoted only marginal attention to musical matters, his students, notably Alan Merriam and Richard Waterman, were instrumental in transposing this interpretive apparatus to the emerging ethnomusicological discipline. In the work of both Merriam and Waterman one observes a commanding devotion to scientific objectivity as a way of transcending racial pitfalls together with versions of the modern racial-musical intertext. Waterman's theories of "hot rhythm" (1948) reflect an unmistakable legacy of racializing music (Radano, this volume), just as his musical applications of the anthropological theory of syncretism (1952), in which African-American music was observed as a melding of European and African similarities, may be read as a metaphor of the integrationist debates consuming mid-century American liberal thought. Merriam's vigorous demands for scientific practice similarly revealed progressive political sentiments. Yet in the end they could not obscure the extent to which he succumbed to the primitive myth of African ferocity—such as when he proposed Henry Stanley's narrative of "Bandusuma at Usiri" as an unparalleled depiction "of the emotional impact of African rhythm" (Merriam 1959)—any more than the achievements of Alan Lomax (1959) can deny the "pornotropic" rhetoric of his early studies of folk-song style.

One must certainly commend the early figures of a discipline in their progressive commitment to a bolder kind of musical scholarship than that which characterized commentaries of non-European music before.

They sought to chart an ambitious, democratic vision that expressed as much a new sympathy for realms of difference as it reflected an imperial self-confidence after America's world victory.⁸ It is certainly not our intention to denigrate their mission, but only to observe how their scholarship reinforced as it reflected ideologies pervasive in an academy still dominated by white, male privilege.⁹ In these positions toward race, we can now recognize, from a distance, the extent to which they carried the denial of race forward. To dismiss this body of scholarship would be an injustice. But to overlook its racialist rhetoric would be equally unjust, leaving us hopeless of ever moving beyond it.

CONSTRUCTION OF RACE IN (AND BY) THE "NEW EUROPE"

During our discussions with potential contributors to this volume, our colleagues who worked at the greatest distance from Europe and the United States were most adamant in their insistence that "race in its European sense" just did not apply; it was "foreign," for example, in many countries in Southeast Asia or the Caribbean, whereby our interlocutors meant that no one described musical and cultural differences with discourses distinguished as racial. As this introduction has sought to show, however, "music," is a European construct exhibiting a European metaphysics that has variously extended into non-Western realms. As a marker of racial differences, it is overwhelmingly implicated in European colonial history. The more extensively categories and constructs of "music" solidified—became exclusive rather than inclusive in their metaphysics—the more European concepts of music insinuated themselves into non-Western cultures. In music cultures of Islamic societies, for example, the terms *musiqā* and *musiqi* are consciously borrowed from European terminology and enter Arabic musical ontologies to mark not only otherness but that which is foreign to Muslim discourses of sound and language. All these forms of historical evidence and vehement criticism were unsettling, for we also struggled against the ever-present danger of essentializing race. Did we face a dilemma, then, in which talking about music and race ineluctably trapped us in European history, even as it drove the engines of transnationalism?

Not to devote a section of our introductory essay to Europe in the 1990s would also be inexcusably irresponsible. Whatever else can be said about race in Europe since the collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe, it is impossible to ignore the sharp rise of racism. In a continent where radical political change has a truly global impact, the

brutal results of racist histories are everywhere palpable. Whatever else can be said about music in the New Europe, it is impossible not to recognize the proliferation of musics outside the Western canon—indeed, music that gives voice to the peoples politically and ideologically excluded from European history. Music gives voice to this postmodern European otherness; the new musics of the New Europe insist that we confront race and racism.

Fundamental to European concepts of race is an opposition between musics that historically participated in the construction of a European canon and those that did not. Such a "fundamental" opposition sounds straightforward enough, but in fact European constructs of otherness are anything but straightforward. The Other may be outside Europe, different by dint of not being European. The Other may also dwell within Europe, different therefore by dint of being all-too-European. Racial difference accrues to the Others because of the nature of the gap between them and Europe. When they dwell beyond the borders of Europe, that gap in an impediment to understanding and a source of misunderstanding. When they dwell within Europe, the gap diminishes so completely that its potential implusive effect concentrates and intensifies fear. The gap, internal and external to Europe, historically assumes the form of aporia—for our purposes, a gap or suspension of understanding and tolerance—and it is in the spaces of this aporia that Europe constructs its forms of race and racism.

The hegemony of the European canon of music and by extension European music history notwithstanding, concepts of race do not necessarily predominate in the discourses on European art music, or, for that matter, on European folk and popular music. With the exception of the anti-Semitic language that characterized German musical discourse during the Nazi era, race is very difficult to distinguish from other attributes of Otherness in European music (Elscheková and Elschek 1996). Stated more bluntly, the quartet of socio-aesthetic attributes that Americans are wont to insist upon—race, ethnicity, class, gender—does not apply, or rather, is not applied, to European musics. Ethnicity, for example, takes on several other forms, bracketed on one side by "minority group" and on the other by "nationalism."¹⁰ Minority music culture, moreover, stands in a dialectical relation with national music culture, which, it follows, represents the majority of the nation's residents.

Austria, to take one nation in which the musical constructs of difference are historically very complex, contains many different minority music cultures. There are border provinces in which linguistic minorities have their own musics, such as Slovenians in Carinthia. There

are urban neighborhoods in Austria's larger cities that have historically contained immigrants from outside Austria, such as the largely Czech district, Favoriten, or the Jewish Second District, Leopoldstadt, in Vienna. There are musics of religious minorities—for example, Jews, but also Protestant Christians and Muslims—and these too constitute minority musics. Roma peoples, even when they are the most prevalent performers of urban popular music, are designated as minorities who produce minority music. By no means is the mapping of musical difference onto minorities an atavistic holdover from the Habsburg Monarchy and its colonial control of Eastern Europe. In 1994, designated as the "Year of the Minorities" in Austria, gays and lesbians also acquired the designation of minority, and institutions of minority culture within the gay and lesbian community were officially recognized (see Initiative Minderheitenjahr 1994). The crucial point here is that, as more and more groups were sanctioned as minorities, discourses on race, ethnicity, and even gender became more and more contradictory. The situation is not simply one of semantics, because Austria has undergone a dramatically sharp rise in racism during the mid and late 1990s (e.g., terrorist bombings and murders in Roma communities) that has been almost impossible to sort out from the parallel rise of nationalism emblemized by Jörg Haider's Freedom Party. Under such circumstances, when anything and everything can be minority, many become blinded to even the most overt displays of racism.

By and large, the European rhetorics of nationalism do not include a semantic place for race, often because they affirm a history in which race did not exist as a separate category. The new language of ethnicity derives and then tautologically confirms a history that was blind to racial difference. Even in the 1990s, the concept of ethnicity largely extends to previous forms of national and regional alignment. Beginning in the 1960s, for example, a new concept of "interethnicity" began to apply to the interaction between and among linguistic and ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe (see Weber-Kellermann 1978). Interethnic cultures, according to this theory, formed in regions such as Transylvania, which contained (and still does contain) Romanian, Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Roma, and Jewish communities. Interethnicity may well account for the historical uniqueness of the region (e.g., the deliberate settlement of German farmers after the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), but it utterly ignores the presence of race in that historical uniqueness (e.g., the full impact of the Holocaust on one of the largest concentrations of

Jewish and Roma communities in Europe). Race simply fails to make an appearance on the modern landscape of interethnic exchange.

It would be unfair, however, to suggest that race does not appear in the racial imagination of Europe in the late twentieth century. It does, and it bears the markers of a moral dilemma in modern society. According to many, however, race is not Europe's problem, but America's. In the European racial imagination, race and racism afflict American music; race is, moreover, often fetishized as an American condition, whose impact is all the more intense because of the absence of tradition, that is, of a sustained music history that can be claimed nationally as German, French, or Hungarian. By fetishizing race in American music, European music undergoes a process of deracination. To speak of "Jewish music in Austria" is to employ a contradiction; to talk about "Gypsy music in Hungary" is to make a sweeping generalization about a minority group that distinguishes itself only by playing the music of others. There is, in other words, no lack of terms to apply to the presence of music in the European racial imagination; those terms simply fail to separate race from other categories of difference.

It would be tempting to attribute European distanciations of race as a semantic problem or at least a discursive dilemma. It is, as many essays in this volume demonstrate, far more complicated than that. At root, the European racial imagination is most profoundly affected by what we might call an ecological dilemma: a failure to provide economic, physical, cultural, and religious space for all those seeking it. Minority groups share what remains after the majority has sufficiently managed to implement a hegemonic culture; racial groups, however, are denied even the spoils. It is the failure to win a place in the ecology of European culture that undergirds the racialization of certain groups. Throughout much of European history—well into the nineteenth century—Jews were denied the right to own land; Romas, as the European historical narrative tells it, wander from place to place, and therefore require none of their own; Turkish guest workers in modern Germany cannot become citizens, even when they are born in Germany of Turkish parents. The more space is at a premium, the more racial exclusion insinuates itself into the European imaginary of selfness.

In the New Europe at the end of the twentieth century, there may be no better evidence that music is more intensely present than ever in the European racial imagination than the tendency to look beyond the borders of Europe for race and racism. Just as history—and music history—provide a rhetoric of displacement, they also have the power to identify

the rupture that displacement leaves. Historically, Europe has been implicated as no other place in the ways music has been employed to construct race and to undergird racism. Music and race interact far too often in the history of Europe and in the history of Western art music to sustain attempts to deny race and to silence the ways in which music calls attention to racism.

GLOBAL CIRCUMSTANCES

It would be misleading and dangerous to limit our discussion of music's presence in the construction of race to the American and European conditions outlined in previous sections. As a signifier within the broad discursive space of the imperium, race casts its lot variously, assuming new appearances from station to station. The historical interplay between the musical and the racial has in turn fostered new, global interpolations that have heightened the effects of both. Race, one might say, also inhabits the world's musical house. It is the modern's realization of an imagined pre-modern unity, the artificial construct of the mythic "universal language."

In this section, therefore, we shift our attention from the West to the racialized conditions of music that do not primarily depend on American and European history. This shift in focus, however, should not lead the reader to believe that we are trying to cover the rest of the world. Whereas we may have attempted certain gestures during the long course of editing this volume that we hoped would enhance the inclusivity of representation, we eventually determined that this strategy would fail. As such, we seek merely to account for the broader determinations of racial-musical meaning that inform local practices, and to acknowledge how these articulations emerge rationally from the interplay of indigenous inventions within the legacy of the colonial project. Rather than moving horizontally—across the globe, so to speak—we have chosen to make a series of moves that identify what we believe are the most crucial circumstances affecting music with a postcolonial racial matrix.

Origins and Authenticity

The power of musical ownership that is so essential to the racial imagination has an extraordinarily global presence. In the most universal sense, the condition whose presence is most global is that of authenticity, the assertion that a particular music is ineluctably bound to a given group or a given place.¹¹ In the diverse historiographies of music, authentic music is that which bears witness to the "origins" of music—geographical, historical, and cultural. The assertion that certain traits of African-

American music are fundamentally African is fundamental to claims of authenticity in the African diaspora, whether in North America and South America, or along the Atlantic littoral. The claims for authenticity for Jamaican reggae and Brazilian *samba*, the first connected to Ethiopia, the second to Angola, are different only in kind, for both depend more extensively on historically fluid notions of the larger African diaspora.

Place has an even more specific role in the ways authenticity was claimed for Jewish music, for it was not only the music of *Eretz Yisrael* ("Land of Israel") but the Temple that contextualized true Jewish music, particularly in a diaspora where the authentic had been lost. By returning to the point of origins, it would be possible again to reclaim authenticity. Indeed, the concern for authenticity lends itself to a complex of metaphors about origins and their unalterability, for example, when the "African elements" are identified in the musics of the Americas, or when music of the Ashkenazic synagogue in the diaspora was thought to maintain liturgical music linked directly to the Temple in Jerusalem, whereas the less authentic liturgical music of post-reconquista Sephardic synagogues in North Africa had been polluted by Arabic musical influences.

The musicological resonance of the term "authenticity" might at first seem to imply an objectification and potential commodification of music itself—for instance, "early music" as an essentialized and technologically reproducible object—and we would argue that this modern, if not postmodern, use of authenticity is not irrelevant to the ways in which authenticity contains the conditions of racialized musics. The rhetoric of origins is designated by a vocabulary that is rich in its diversity yet subtly nuanced in the ways that vocabulary is employed and understood. We further recognize global conditions for the authentication of race in music through terms such as biologicism, organicism, naturalness, or species specificity (cf. Blacking 1995b). In the language of nationalism, music that grows organically from the soil of a particular nation is *ipso facto* more natural, more authentic, because it is nourished by sources to which no other nation has access. Musical talent and certain types of physical disposition—dance, rhythm, even heightened musical capacities—are similarly confused as being more natural for some races than for others.

The globalization driven by the world-music motor of transnational recording industries has rather unabashedly reinvented earlier forms of authenticity, remolding these into postmodern journeys in search of the "natural musician." World-music collectors, therefore, appoint themselves as the saviors who will rescue what is left of musical origins. The

vocabulary of the postmodern search for authenticity makes it possible to construct a neomythology of musical and racial origins. The origins that one identifies and saves by bounding a world music is imagined to be a condition of prehistory. The origins of an authentic music existed prior to the construction of race, in a timeless world when the conflicts between different peoples did not affect the racial purity of music. We question whether the postmodern search for authenticity is fundamentally distinct from earlier attempts to racialize music by insisting on the naturalness of its origins. Their similarities, quite the contrary, lead us to argue strongly for a larger, more variegated music history that accounts for as many global circumstances as possible in the intersection of music with the racial imaginary.

Migrations

"Migration," on the surface, suggests the antithesis of origin, for in music's transmission it is necessarily decentered, displaced from that which is first and authentically "real." In fact, displacements have been as much a part of world music's history as the emergence of firsts from native soil (MacAllister 1979). We know that people have always traveled, bringing with them customs and habits, and those habits have changed as part of the process. Indeed, the observed linguistic and "racial" variations that change gradually across geographical space reflect patterns of contact as much as they have served to demarcate difference. So, too, with music can we observe points of stability identifying "naïve expression," just as they reveal upon a closer look prior entrances and exchanges—those trajectories of influence which ethnomusicology has historically defined as "transmission." Court practices and instrumentalizations of Japan owe to the influence of China; instrumental prototypes of Europe trace to the Middle East; scalar forms and rhythmic patterns of India bear resemblances to those found in Arabic, Persian, and Central Asian cultures. With the rise of colonialism, moreover, transmissions escalated with the repetition of exchanges between the colonizer and colonized, while also influencing processes of intra-cultural borrowing. The mestizo musics of the Americas reflect inter-sections of Spanish and native practices as they identify the emergence of new expressions (and corresponding racial specifications) specific to New World encounter; the endurance of the court gamelan in Java may be attributed as much to the European reification of "high culture" as to its importance within a local hierarchy (Sumarsan 1995). These are but a few examples in a world history of countless cross-referential engagements.

Historically, studies of migration have commonly stressed continuities over their disruptions. In this way, they have perpetuated the "salvage" approach first forged in nineteenth-century folkloristics, which sought to establish the vernacular essences and authenticities from which new versions proceeded (Bendix 1997). As we have seen, music has played a central role in this formulation, largely owing to its proposed metaphysical uniqueness as an artifact of the racial imagination. As part of the critique of racial essences, cultural studies scholars, particularly those working in Afro-American studies, have more recently challenged this devotion to continuity in order to expose the inevitably hybrid "forms" that occupy nearly all cultural terrain (e.g., Gilroy 1993, Adell 1994, Awkward 1995). That this process of encounter has quickened as a result of colonial contact should not obscure the extent to which it also describes a pre-colonial and possibly "natural" human state. This is no less so for music—despite theories of slow processes of change proposed by Lomax (1959: 930), Blacking (1977), and others—whose placeness and fixity must always be seen as a momentary pause extending from prior intersections and shifts. That music has nonetheless served as a kind of center within even "postmodern" interpretations reveals the extent to which a racial metaphysics lives on in the very efforts to demystify the interpretation of culture.¹²

Simultaneously centers of new belonging and products of a prior realm, musical migrations express a paradoxical concentration-of-ness and difference consistent with the ontologies of form discussed above. That each new center reveals a prior past is never enough to cease the process of centering and naming; for these truth claims remain central to the musical constitution of identities. Such formations of the authentic develop from the image of diaspora long associated with Jewish history. More recently, in the United States particularly, they are most frequently drawn in reference to African-American music, which owns a legacy of authentic sites: the totalized "slave culture," the Mississippi Delta, a succession of urban terrains from early modern New Orleans to the late twentieth-century Bronx. Significantly, these sites of the authentic grow from a textual web narrating other, prior racial realms: the Jewish shtetl, the Scottish border, the Italian-American ghetto. So too have they contributed to new discourses of authenticity constructing new origins across the transnational soundscape: heavy metal in Jakarta, rock-based performance experiments in Ljubljana, polka in Wisconsin, a romanticized Sinatra heralded as the icon of hip hop masculinity (Gemari 1996). "Origins" necessarily give way to prior positions which destabilize fixities of place.

Mediation

If migrations challenge musical continuity as they narrate new memories of a "changing same" (Jones 1966), mediation destabilizes those centers as it magnifies their invented coherences. First through the circulation of 78-rpm recordings, then via radio and television transmission, and now with the distribution of the compact disc and a Third-World black market of cassettes, music has become increasingly disembodied from its modes of production, enabling new processes of consumption together with new forms of colonization. Listeners may now acquire these recorded musics and give them specific, local meaning; yet so do they comprehend these musics within a global economy that produces and controls, by the transnational institutions of mass-marketed entertainment (Erlmann 1996). Significantly, the saturation of culture that this electronic-age circulation provides is for the consumer at once more distant and more familiar: as the artist moves further from the listener through the economy of purchase, so does the consumer imagine a more intimate connection to the totality of "global sound." It is in this ever-increasing proliferation of sonic fragmentation—and the new densities of space and place it constructs—that one finds attached corresponding formations of the authentic and real, with each displacement the "truth" of place and origin seems to rise in value (Harvey 1989).

And so are revealed in the many versions of popular music tracing across the metropolises new rhetorics of the folk vernacular which repeat as they reinscribe modernity's never-ending quest for the authentic. That these rhetorics of authenticity have been occupied with discernibly American racial figures betrays the colonizing effects of a United States empire without colonies. In popular forms from Tokyo to Cairo, Havana to Brazzaville, the image power of "blackness" appears as a dislocated, fragmentary hypertext of post-World War II American popular sound—soul, rock 'n' roll, disco, jazz, funk, hip hop. Yet in their affecting rhythmic projections they colonize as they inhabit (Feld 1996). For in rhythm one finds not simply the "groove" that regulates all global sound, but the figure of liberation inextricably linked to a highly problematic romance of race (Keil and Feld 1994). If, moreover, these musics speak to the globalizing effects of a worldbeat and the various local articulations that they inform, so do they communicate the success of a State Department agenda to populate the music market with American signifiers of "freedom" created by the progeny of those this nation had once enslaved (Von Eschen 1997). The "difference" of Othered sound speaks at once

INTRODUCTION

to a new kind of mediated closure and the absolute fracture of prior coherences, which, in turn, inspire new imaginations of belonging.

Public Sphere/Public Culture

At the end of the twentieth century, then, musical instantiations of race flood the public sphere in countries throughout the world. If no music is excluded from world music, then the globalization of world music would seem to have created a set of postmodern conditions in which space and place are no longer a problem. Any given music might take its place in numerous racial imaginations, might participate in countless struggles against hegemony. The globalization of Celtic music, for example, has resulted from far more than filioque celebration in an imaginary Celtic diaspora. Politically charged in many of its local forms, Irish folk music can and does potentially resist anything from the British presence in Northern Ireland to the Palestinian struggle in the Middle East (e.g., the band Men of No Property) to Spanish colonialism in the New World (e.g., the Chieftains on their Grammy-winning CD, *Santiago* [1996]).

To some extent, we have reached what then appears as the farthest extreme from the point at which we began this section. If any world music can occupy any space or, for that matter, innumerable spaces, then what is the meaning of authenticity? On the global musical marketplace, whose origins would seem irrefutably racial are no longer bounded by a locally relevant racial framework. In what ways have the blues, for example, not been appropriated? Which national and linguistic popular music has not spawned "its own" forms of rap music? We might ask the question whether the local conditions of music, those that are most potentially constitutive of racial resistance, have ceased to exist, or whether the local in music is inevitably propelled along a global trajectory. Is the public culture of music actually a new hegemony, albeit a palpable field that opens itself to resistance for the local at all times?

This welter of questions, some rhetorical, others begging for answers that we are not yet fully prepared to offer, is surely unfair, but it brings new perspectives to the sea change that informs so many of the essays in this book and that was the primary motivation for our decision to undertake the book in the first place. At the end of the twentieth century, all evidence indicates that music is playing an even more powerful role in the construction of racial imaginaries. The sea change is a result of realignments between the local and the public, between the musics of place and the musics of displacement. The global circumstances for world music are radically different today from those a generation ago. Just as race

is more evident in the globalization of music, however, contemporary musical scholarship and the disciplines mustered under the umbrella of cultural studies are only beginning to struggle with the task of sorting out meaning from the explosion of musical practices and their dissemination across a global landscape. These new musics should provide a means of shaping a new chapter in a music history of the present. To do so, however, would require the radical realignment of disciplinary boundaries, the challenge of which we address in the next section.

AFTER THE SILENCE OF THE HOLOCAUST

As the new millennium approaches, the call for an end to racism and to the modern and postmodern preoccupations with race has crescendoed into an almost deafening cacophony. It would seem as if almost no modern scholarly discipline, whether in the humanistic, social scientific, or biological studies, wants to be denied a place in the debate, and yet the motivation for staking that claim is to state conditions for ending the debate itself. To enter into the debate requires that one also have some strategy, or formula, for ending the debate. From the Right, from the Left, and from the middle, the voices arguing for an end to racism are louder and more public than ever. They are also more political than ever, which has also reconfigured the ways in which they influence the political discussions and policies of the public sphere.

It is hardly surprising that the voices from the Left have intensified their battle against racism. African-American scholars and scholarship, which have so very much at stake in the race debates, have taken the lead in restating the ways in which race concentrates the most critical intellectual questions of the 1990s. In much continental European scholarship, it is the "Old Left" that has most aggressively raised the banner in the fight to end racism. The Old Left is, of course, the loose coalition of Marxist scholarship that has reconfigured its most pressing intellectual and political agendas for a post-communist Europe and a post-nationalist world. The activist engagement with race is fundamental to what has become a transition of the Old Left into the New Left, which has shifted its activities from localized political tactics to globalized moral imperatives (see, e.g., the essays in Fischer and Wölfingeder 1995).

The entrance of the conservative and reactionary Right into the debates about ending racism, on the other hand, was for many quite surprising, if not disturbing. In the United States, the Right has turned to race as a means of bolstering its arsenal in the culture wars. Insisting that

INTRODUCTION

American culture continues to bear the scars of a history of racial differences, so the argument goes, only perpetuates the destructive influences of that history. The spokesperson for the Right's call for an end to racism, notably Dinesh D'Souza (1995), appeal to an objectification of race and a rationalization of the conditions of racism. The insidious message behind the Right's argument is that American society is now "multiracial," thereby reflecting an organic transformation of racism itself. In D'Souza's "new vision for a multiracial society," therefore, he would like Americans to place race in a somehow gender perspective. "Racism," according to D'Souza, "undoubtedly exists, but it no longer has the power to thwart blacks or any other group in achieving their economic, political, and social aspirations" (1995: 525). The Right's claim, therefore, is that racism will die a natural death, and so, again, nature is invoked to obfuscate the reasons that American society historically failed to stem its racialization of itself.¹³

The different political perspectives and motivations in the voices raised against racism notwithstanding, there is also a rather disturbing sameness that infects the message they bear. One reason for what might arguably be called a discursive gray-out is the hopefulness—indeed, a shockingly optimistic, almost millennial belief that it has become possible really to implement an end to racism—that pervades all perspective. Even the most radical of the African-American feminist voices, the bell hooks, takes an unabashedly positive stance when looking toward the future.

Progressive feminist writing on the issue of race and racism . . . is fundamentally optimistic even as it is courageously and fiercely critical precisely because it emerges from concrete struggles on the part of diverse groups of women to work together for a common cause, forging a politics of solidarity. . . . In counter hegemonic race talk I testify in this writing—bearing witness to the reality that our many cultures can be remade, that this nation can be transformed, that we can resist racism and in the act of resistance recover ourselves and be renewed. (hooks 1995: 6–7)

Hooks calls for a "politics of solidarity," a middle road for the struggle against racism. It is the middle road, moreover, that all calls for the end to racism would take as their own, and this is what is most remarkable, racism disappears by dint of its alternative, hybridity.

In contrast to the pre-millennial rhetoric calling for an end to the weight of race's presence in postmodern society, an alternative strategy

for facing race today has also emerged in recent scholarship, a strategy that can best be understood by returning again to the historical framework David A. Hollinger (1995) has proposed for the post-multicultural era in the United States. Whereas Hollinger has suggestively recast the diversity and difference that variously constituted ethnicity as "postethnicity," it would seem no less compelling to extend this framework beyond the American geographical and cultural borders to consider the possibility of a "postracial" world. In the postethnic America described by Hollinger the borders separating one ethnic group from another are simply no longer relevant. The mix and remix, the hybridity and realignment of ethnic cultures are too extensive. It is simply a given in an America where choosing between ethnicities results from affiliation, not from biological, linguistic, or religious predetermination. So why shouldn't race also involve choice and affiliation as responses to the global collapse of borders and boundaries, and to transnational realignments?

It would be very convenient if the answer to this question were a simple and easy affirmation of a globalization of its application to the United States. But it is precisely because ethnicity and race are not isomorphic categories that allow a shift from American to global perspectives that the essays in this book do not lead us to that affirmation. The logic speaks for itself: the breaking down of racial boundaries and differences has been one result of postcolonial histories. It is the question of realignment and, more to the point, of affiliation that gives us pause. Moreover, whereas the recourse to a rhetoric of hybridity is indeed attractive, it becomes more fragile—and not less fully convincing—through its globalization. Is all hybridity the same?

The postmodern and postmulticultural appeals for rapprochement with race depend to a rather remarkable degree on a contemporary willingness to accept that a world, once marked by differences, has now undergone a sea change to become a world unraveling into hybridities. At some time in the 1990s, the sea change whose tides brought an underflow of hybridity with them rather completely washed away the distinctions within world music. The late 1990s rhetoric about world music, like the late 1990s reinagination of a postethnic America, takes hybridity in music as a given. The attempts from only a half-decade ago to articulate the historical conditions for music that was hybrid, say, because of the transnationalism of the African diaspora (see, most notably, Gilroy 1993), today seem, well, unexceptionable. No one really denies the transnational mix. It comprises what ethnomusicologists and the recording industry alike call "world music." It provides new genres and classificatory systems for popular-music scholarship, the study of

mass culture, and cultural studies. The transnational mix has not erased race from music, but rather it has recontextualized it. We argue that this recontextualization has brought about an even more critical confrontation between race and music.

Surely, no essay in this book accepts any racial or ethnic boundedness in the musics the authors interrogate. To talk about race and music means crossing boundaries, embracing the mixture of genre and repertory, and accepting that race is everywhere in music. Race is everywhere in music, and it is precisely this given that has the potential of seducing us into being deaf to its presence. The question that his book raises at this millennial juncture in the musical scholarship that addresses race and ethnicity, difference and hybridity, is whether it, too, has an end in sight, such as the "end of racism" that both the Right and the Left are calling for. The essays in this book militate against the rhetoric that foresees an end to race and racism. When the authors turn to music in the racial imagination, the evidence just isn't there. World music and postmodern hybridities have yet to eliminate racial barriers, and they show no signs of masking the conditions that give rise to racial differences.

Seen in this light, the musical scholarship that the different authorial perspectives in this book represent is not resonant but dissonant when compared with the premillennial call for ending racism. Rather than closing the spaces around the human suffering wrought by racism, the musics examined here suggest that music may provide one of the most powerful media for listening to and understanding what it is that racism continues to do on a global scale. Music gives voice to racial difference, and music rings with the rupture and fragmentation that afflicts humans because of their race throughout the world. We don't deny that there is an alternative to listening to the music that is so inseparable from the racial imagination, but we would struggle against invoking it. That alternative is, of course, silence.

It is silence that has historically posed the greatest danger to confronting the insidious destruction of racism, silence as the hopeful belief that racism will just come to an end. Music, of course, resists silence, and music has the power to undo the historical aporia of silence. The danger posed by silence is most evident in the memory-politics that confront assertions that the Holocaust was a unique historical phenomenon, utterly irreproachable and thus irrelevant as a means of representing racism in post-Holocaust Europe. The resistance to silence acknowledges the real-life, contemporary effects of centuries of slavery in the United States. To look above and beyond these realities is to invoke

the privilege of silence. Silence pushes the racism of slavery into someone else's history, and it insists on the distance between that history and our own.

Such notions of historical silence, however, neglect the traces of racism that refuse to be silenced because their audibility survives. More specifically, music gives voice to those silenced by racism. We witness such a returning of voice in the hip-hop movement that has overtaken American popular music since the early 1980s. We witness such a re-turning, too, in the music of the Holocaust, in Viktor Ullmann's 1943 opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* [The emperor of Atlantis], composed in the concentration camp Theresienstadt/Terezin without hope of performance because of the modeling of the character of Death [der Tod] after Hitler in Peter Klein's libretto. Indeed, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* was the final major composition of Ullmann, who would be killed in Auschwitz in 1944. To rescue such a work from silence therefore confronts racism because it forces us to take into consideration the very racist attitudes toward music that play a role in narrating the Holocaust.¹⁴

Silence has also served as a racistist weapon because of the power accrued to it through the failure to listen to the music of powerless and voiceless peoples. We mean to call here for the imperative of listening to the musics of Roma peoples or the sacred practices of Muslim peoples, whose needs are erased by the silencing gestures of nationalism in the 1990s. We mean to draw attention to the silencing of resistance groups in Indonesia and Chile, to the invisibility of America's "truly disadvantaged," whose socio-economic position and cultural stigma are inseparable from racial differences. The silence of the underclass is unquestionably a racial silence, which nonetheless has the potential to gain a new voice in the Hispanic and African American urban musics of the 1990s. Listening to or into the silence powerfully forestalls us from imagining that an "end to racism" is on or just beyond the horizon; the audible evidence convinces us that the history of racism just does not end in this way. In essence the essays in this book argue for a sort of racial listening that accounts for a "possilence," thereby reconfiguring the history of music and the racial imagination to include the present and the future.

MUSICOLOGY'S RECONSTRUCTION

What role might the musicologies play in this call for a new racial hearing? Despite some notable exceptions, our discipline presently manages

still to avoid the more pressing controversies surrounding the legacy of cross-determinations between the musical and the racial. To an extent this reflects the endurance of established paradigms of scholarship and the personal choices scholars make in their quest for knowledge. Too often, however, musicological investigation appears content with its circumscribed agendas of musical mediation and exotic isolationism. Scholars increasingly complain about their position on the margins as they resist an outward focus; the rigors of formal musical training prove limiting when we are asked to face the larger social matters in which the subject of music increasingly finds itself. And so, we leave to our colleagues in other disciplines—in literature, history, sociology, philosophy—the challenge of establishing the place of the musical within the wider study of politics and culture. There is, of course, no reason to seek a reversal of this arrangement, to bully our way in and establish musicological authority. As the essays in this volume reveal, some of the most compelling research on musical meaning comes from those working beyond the bounds of music schools and departments. And yet it is our hope that the musicologies might rise, so to speak, to the occasion and find their way in the emerging national and international conversation on race, for it is in music that the racial resonates most vividly, with greatest affect and power.

It is, of course, reasonable for musicologists to exclude themselves from these more pressing social concerns. For, as we have shown, to face them brings with it the necessity of acknowledging the racistist background of the discipline's own making. To address the racial qualities behind the modern conception of musical power would mean observing the formation of the discipline within this same ideological background. And to face this would also mean recognizing the legacy of exclusion that still privileges Europe and those seemingly static non-Western "music cultures." It would mean ultimately rewriting what Du Bois called in his study of Black Reconstruction the "propaganda of history," those "lies agreed upon . . . [which] allow no room for the real plot of the story" (Du Bois [1935] 1992: 714–15).

In our call for musicology's reconstruction, then, we imagine something more than the common practices of newness of recent years. The newness we propose is one that begins with the revelations of the racial in order to foster interpretive procedures that reveal the ideological underpinnings of our enduring disciplinary color line, of the distance we maintain between "the West and the rest." We seek to do so not to cast blame—whom could we blame, in any case?—but rather to unsettle

this division's regressive, debilitating effects. Newness after the silence would mean the opening of the musical disciplines to face matters of race directly as a way of framing new territories of musical exploration and observing the dynamics of difference that so profoundly inform music's affective power. The call for reflexive methodologies reveals, in turn, the need for tools that meet the challenges of critical study of society and culture. And yet in its effort to catch up with others so long after the linguistic turn, musicology risks its own deracinated "race for theory" (Christian 1987), of reaffirming the hierarchies of privilege and difference as it shifts focus from the cloistered realm of aesthetic enchantment to a putatively political yet ultimately exclusionary infatuation with post-structuralism's magic. We hope for more pragmatic, socially grounded, and broadly populist engagements that recognize the real-life consequences of musical experience within the cross trajectories of a diverse historical past—richly populated beyond the court and church—and the diverse locales of the global present. As musicology emerges after the silence, it will no doubt re-invent itself variously. Yet within this range we hope for no small measure of attention focusing on the concerns of those millions outside the concert hall for whom music plays such a profound, constitutive role.

So begins the imagination of a new musicology emerging from "the space-clearing gestures" of a transnational, postcolonial world (Appiah 1991). The "posts" of musicology identify its legacies: the European, the ethnic. These are legacies not to disavow, but to determine within a new relation, between a prior racial supremacy that nonetheless establishes modes of critical reflection and analytical rigor, and a darker complexed, self-reflexive avenue of exploration of a mulatto "new." Such calls for a post-Europeanist, post-ethnic musical scholarship seek not to do away with the legacies of interpretation that have become us, but to clear a space for the inclusion of new, progressive programs that speak to the multiplex considerations revealing the musical within the racial. It is a call for a space-clearing that enables the exploration of a cultural phenomenon that still today can sustain collective dreams of universal language as it serves to demarcate color-bound difference. Through such working from within the racial/musical complex, we might begin to comprehend the motivations of our own aesthetic desires, to understand how we as a nation could proclaim an invisible, seemingly inconsequential sonic phenomenon "the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side of the seas" (Du Bois [1903] 1989: 178).

EPILOGUE

The Place of Race 4: Millennial Transit

Wherever one turns in the post-Holocaust Europe of the 1990s, one encounters klezmer music. No weekend passes in Berlin without the opportunity to attend several different, which is to say, countless, klezmer concerts. Klezmer has been all the rage for the past few years, since the *Wende*, and klezmer bands have become a ubiquitous marker of a reunified Germany. Klezmer music, moreover, fits any context. Nightclubs and sundry street festivals are obvious contexts; intermission entertainment at the opera or appearances at village wine and beer festivals are less obvious contexts. Similarly, klezmer can be a context for just about any music. Though traditionally an instrumental music, European klezmer includes extensive repertoires of Yiddish song, especially songs and sounds marked "Hasidic."

The political message and the cultural imperative of postmodern Europe is that it is in transit. There is little doubt about what it is in transit *from*: there is little consensus about what it is in transit *to*. The omnipresence of klezmer is a metonym for Europe's millennial transit, for it arises from and depends on the stasis of Europe's current transitory postmodernism. The public traces of klezmer are notable for the ways they adhere to billboards, to the pages of free newspapers cluttering subway stops, and, above all, to the pedestrian passageways that wind their ways through construction zones. These are the *Passagen*—the Benjaminian arcades (Benjamin 1982)—of a reunified Europe, as it recovers its past to rebuild its future. "The Chicago-Berlin Express—Klezmer aus der Neuen Welt [Klezmer from the New World]" announces the repetitious litany of posters wallpapering the passageworld that connects East Berlin's socialist-realist past to its capitalist future, via the memorialization of the Nazi Era. As "Jewish music," klezmer has special meaning for Germans, and in the 1990s it has become the music that symbolizes race and racism in the public sphere of post-Holocaust Germany more than any other.

And yet, that public sphere of a unified Europe is itself transitory. It is as if race and its music are best accommodated to the present by fitting them to the spaces in-between, to those transitory surfaces that are always present but which one briskly puts behind oneself. The spaces of transit, however, are themselves everywhere, and these are the spaces that music empowers race to occupy. The spaces of race

are those of the racial imagination, the spaces where races refuse to go away.

In the New Europe klezmer nostalgically contextualizes the Old World—the American band “Brave Old World” enjoys enormous success—especially the 1920s and 1930s, when jazz and other black musics putatively resisted a Europe spinning uncontrollably down the road toward fascism. In 1990s Europe the difference between black music and Jewish music blurs in klezmer. It’s both. And it’s more, for there’s Roma rather than it has a “Gypsy flavor.”¹⁵ Then again, no one would say that it’s Jewish or black music. The music masks such racial categories. They are present but they are also invisible and inaudible. Everyone knows they are present but the music makes it possible to imagine they are not. The music provides a site for unleashing the racial imagination, but it serves as a reminder of the consequences of the racial imagination, but unchecked. In post-Holocaust Europe klezmer has become a public site for confronting and reimagining the disastrous consequences of a century given historical meaning by the struggle with and against race. Klezmer, in the Old World or the New Europe, does not exist alone. Klezmer is therefore one of the metonyms for the ways in which music and race open the historical spaces of the racial imagination throughout this book.

Klezmer in the United States, however, passes along quite a different millennial transit, for rather than the geographical passageways of postmodernity, American klezmer provides the crucial temporal element in the construction of Jewish modernity. Klezmer proliferated in the United States earlier than in Europe, and in doing so it was motivated by the belief that it functioned as a metonym for survival in the diaspora during the Holocaust. In the United States, klezmer musicians who had immigrated early in the twentieth century provided revivalists the opportunity of learning the old traditions (see Slobin 1982). The oral traditions of klezmer music therefore provided a simulacrum for authenticity writ large. Learning at the feet of Dave Tarras, for example, allowed one to bridge the past and the present.

That bridge, nonetheless, crossed over the aporia of the Holocaust. The authenticity that sometimes becomes obsessive for American revivalists lies in the music itself, and we witness another case in which claims for a musically grounded authenticity requires deracializing. The authenticity of klezmer, moreover, depends on a willingness to dehistoricize it, which is achieved by returning it to the ghetto, to the “Juden-gasse,”¹⁶ and to the temporalized public spaces of ritual. Circumcisions

and weddings, the signifiers of birth and reproduction, become the sites for klezmer, but so too do the pathways of death, also given metaphorical meaning by the Judengasse. The place of race, therefore, is again transitory, but it enters history not as the narrative of race and racism that would silence European klezmer musicians, but rather as the dehistoricized, deracialized music of timeless ritual (see *Klezmer Music* 1996).

Why race? It’s not simply that klezmer is Jewish music, with Roma and black histories running through it. More to the point, in the European public sphere Jews, Roma, and blacks largely do not play klezmer music. Indeed, there are rarely Jews, Roma, and blacks in the audiences at klezmer concerts. Klezmer in Europe is a music made by the Other for the Other—it constantly affirms its Old World status—and as such it confirms a deracialized Self. The racial mix that complicated the history of klezmer prior to the Holocaust’s historical assault on racial difference disappears in the 1990s, effaced as the New Europe recuperates little public discourse about race. In post-Holocaust Europe, there is race is never present, but rather it accrues to a politics of the Right and its aggression and violence against guest workers in Central Europe, and against immigrants from former colonies in western and northwestern England. The economic conflict between South and North is everywhere reduced to black vs. white—that is, to a racial and racist vocabulary that Europe shares with the rest of the world. It is hard to talk about race because that would admit to the reality that the horror of the Holocaust might again be possible. Calling it race makes it real again, today, not yesterday.

Why music? That’s the question that this book eventually poses. Is race embedded in music and related expressive practices, such as dance, in particularly powerful ways? Does music mark race? Or does music re-produce the traces of race, thereby perpetuating the racial imagination itself? For many it may seem that making a case for music’s culpability in the reproduction of racial stereotypes is empirically unsound because music is music, not race. Music is, one might argue, no more than a non-signifying, free-floating, essentialized object. But the question “why music?” is particularly unsettling precisely because of its banality. To dismiss music as non-signifying is possible only when one ignores the power that accrues to musical practice. Music acquires power because it can be used to attribute and ascribe multivalent meanings. The moment when it seems not to signify, music becomes most significant; music acquires its very powerlessness as an object. In grappling with the question “why music?” then, the editors and many of the authors contributing to this

book rethink several of their own positions in the ethnomusicological debates of recent years, particularly the forceful arguments made against essentializing music (e.g., Radano 1993, Bohlman 1993, Monson 1995). There is, instead, a political and moral imperative that necessitates returning music to contemporary discussions of race and the racial imagination. As the reality of heightened violence against racial difference forms at those borders of the social spaces that exclude the Other, music may be one of the few social practices that can truly fill those spaces. Black music fills the racialized landscape of America and the ceaseless crossings of the African Diaspora; Roma music charts historical journeys from the South Asian past no longer inhabited by Roma to the European present that is simply uninhabitable by Roma because of its always already imminent danger; and klezmer music is everywhere to be heard, indeed, in the transitory spaces of an everywhere that collapses in a history of musical silence and racial exclusion.

NOTES

1. For a critique of the ways in which musicology relies on a commitment to the music itself to deny its political and racial ideologies, see Bohlman 1993.
2. Appiah 1992, Herbert 1991, Scott 1995, Bhabha 1994, Clifford and Marcus 1986.
3. That ethnomusicological discourse still frequently relies on the uninterrogated mid-century concepts of "etic" and "emic"—derived from the linguistic theory of Kenneth Pike—makes manifest the discipline's "resistance to theory." Significantly, Pike himself was very concerned with the relational aspect of this study, which he proposed dialectically in ways that implicated the observer (see Pike 1967 [1954]).
4. This has been pursued subsequently by a range of creative scholars: among others, Robin D. G. Kelley, Tricia Rose, Herman Gray, Evelyn Higginbotham, Cornel West, Bruce Tucker, George Lipsitz, Hazel Carby, John Szwed, and others. In the musicologies, there has been a growing body of thoughtful critical work in some cases inspired by black cultural studies. See esp. Floyd 1995, Monson 1995, and Keil and Feld 1994. The bibliography of racial studies is massive. Among the noteworthy titles are: Gossett 1997, Jordan 1968, Davis 1975, Appiah 1992, Gilman and Remmler 1994, Delgado 1995, and Fishkin 1995.
5. Our use of these terms should be understood as avoiding scientific affiliations.
6. Wallaschek's dismissal—claiming the spirituals to be mere poems set to Euro-American song—probably reflects his dissatisfaction about the enormous popularity of Fisk and other jubilee singers from the 1870s. Such views show up into the twentieth century, notably in the work of George Pullen Jackson (1943).
7. Significantly, Boas himself rarely spoke of specifically African-American

racial matters, and when he did, he voiced the patronizing rhetoric informing a legacy of thought. See Szwed 1969.

8. This imperialism was acknowledged in Merriam's depiction of the "white-knight syndrome" in ethnomusicology, as well as in Mante Hood's highly personal portrayal of the discipline in his book *The Ethnomusicologist* (Hood 1982 [1st ed., 1971]: 1–23).

9. For a seminal challenge to the masculinization of musical analysis, see Herndon 1974.

10. For a discussion of the difficulty of establishing meanings for ethnicity in European music, see Henerek 1996.

11. For a rich set of essays devoted to the musical construction of place, see Stokes 1994.

12. Such mystifications can be observed, for example, in two otherwise important books on black music: Tricia Rose's *Black Noise* (1994) and Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993). Gilroy, it is true, works to historicize black music's various projections. And yet in the end he adheres to a purely sonic projection of black music that enables proposals of transhistorical consistencies of transhistorical consistencies of meaning.

13. For a blisteringly brilliant interpellation of D'Souza's call to end racism, see Bérubé 1996.

14. Several performances of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* took place in 1998, the centenary of Ullmann's birth.

15. There are several interesting exceptions, such as the "Austrian" trio, Ensemble Klezmer, whose accordionist, Mario Koutev, is Bulgarian-born Roma. The Hungarian world music ensemble Muzsikás makes a point of learning its klezmer repertoire for Romas living in Transylvania, who claim themselves to have learned Jewish pieces from klezmer musicians prior to the Holocaust (see Muzsikás 1993).

16. The Judengasse [lit., "Jewish street"] was the traditional border between the Jewish quarter and the non-Jewish sectors of European cities and villages. In the historical imaginary created for klezmer music, the Judengasse was the site of most performances, even those accompanying, for example, weddings.

REFERENCES

- Abbate, Carolyn. 1991. *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Abrahams, Roger D., and John F. Szwed, eds. 1983. *After Africa: Extracts from British Travel Accounts and Journals of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries Concerning the Slaves, Their Manners, and Customs in the British West Indies*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Adell, Sandra. 1994. *Double Consciousness, Double Bind*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Adler, Guido. 1885. "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft." *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1:5–20.

- Adorno, Theodor W. [1932] 1988. "The Social Situation of Music." Trans. Wes Blomster. *Telos* 35 (Spring): 128-64.
- . 1978. "On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening." In Andres Arato and Eike Gebhardt, eds., *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, pp. 270-99. New York.
- Agawu, V. Kofi. 1992. "Representing African Music." *Critical Inquiry* 18: 246-66.
- . 1995. "The Invention of 'African rhythm.'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48: 380-95.
- Allen, Warren Dwight. 1939. *Philosophies of Music History*. New York: American Book Company.
- Allen, William Francis, Lucy McKim Garrison, and Charles Pickard Ware, eds. 1867. *Slave Songs of the United States*. New York: A. Simpson and Co.
- Amiot, Joseph-Marie. 1779. *Mémoire sur la musique des chinois, tant anciens que modernes*. Paris: Nyon.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1991. "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?" *Critical Inquiry* 17: 336-57.
- . 1992. *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Arcena, Beth. 1999. "Singing Salvation: Jesuit Musics in Colonial Chile, 1600-1767." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Awkward, Michael. 1995. *Negotiating Difference: Race, Gender, and the Politics of Positionality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baer, Abraham. 1883. *Baal Tefillah, oder der praktische Vorberer*. 2nd ed. Gothenborg, Sweden: Abraham Baer.
- Baker, Houston A., Jr. 1984. *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, Houston A., Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindborg, eds. 1996. "Black British Cultural Studies." In *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. Black Literature and Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beecham, John. 1841. *Ashantee and Gold Coast*. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall.
- Bell, Daniel. 1960. *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1982. *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5, *Das Passagen-Werk*. 2 parts. Ed. Rolf Tiedemann. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Bent, Ian, ed. 1996. *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berubé, Michael. 1996. "Extreme Prejudice: Dinesh D'Souza and the Coarsening of American Conservatism." *Transition* 69: 90-98.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bird, William Hamilton. 1789. *The Oriental Miscellany: Being a Collection of the Most Favourite Airs of Hindustan, Calcutta*. London.
- Blacking, John. 1995a. *Music, Culture, and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . [1977] 1995b. "The Study of Musical Change." In *Blacking* 1995a: 148-73.
- Blum, Stephen. 1991. "European Terminology and the Music of Africa." In Nertl and Bohman 1991: 3-36.
- Bohman, Philip V. 1987. "The European Discovery of Music in the Islamic World and the 'Non-Western' in 19th-century Music History." *The Journal of Musicology* 5: 147-63.
- . 1991. "Representation and Cultural Critique in the History of Ethnomusicology." In Nertl and Bohman 1991: 131-51.
- . 1993. "Musicology as a Political Act." *The Journal of Musicology* 11: 411-36.
- Bowdich, T. Edward. 1819. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*. London: John Murray.
- Brinner, Benjamin. 1993. "A Musical Time Capsule from Java." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46: 221-60.
- Carby, Hazel V. 1986. "It jus be's dat way sometime! The Sexual Politics of Women's Blues." *Radical America* 20 (4): 9-24.
- Chieftains. 1996. *Santiago*. RCA BMG 09026 68602.
- Christian, Barbara. 1987. "The Race for Theory." *Cultural Critique* 6: 51-63.
- Crafts, Susan D., Daniel Cavicchi, and Charles Keil, eds. 1993. *My Music*. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press.
- Clifford, James, and George Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Coplan, David B. 1994. *In the Time of Carnival: The World Music of South Africa's Bazaar Migrants*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Corry, Joseph. 1807. *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa*. London: W. Bulmer.
- Davis, David Brion. 1975. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Delgado, Richard, ed. 1995. *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Densmore, Francis. 1909. "Scale Formation in Primitive Music." *American Anthropologist* 11: 1-12.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1982. "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America." *Media, Culture, and Society* 4 (January): 33-50.
- D'Souza, Dinesh. 1995. *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. [1903] 1989. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Repr. ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. New York: Bantam.
- . [1935] 1992. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. Repr. with introduction by David Levering Lewis. New York: Atheneum.
- Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction*. New York: Verso.
- Ellis, A. B. 1883. *The Land of Fetish*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Elscheková, Alica, and Oskar Elschek. 1996. "Theorie und Praxis der

- Erforschung der traditionellen Musik von Minderheiten." In Hemetek 1996a: 17-30.
- Elson, Louis Charles. 1900. *The National Music of America and Its Sources*. Boston: L. C. Page.
- Erimann, Veit. 1996. "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s." *Public Culture* 8: 467-87.
- Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi, ed. 1997. *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Feld, Steven. 1996. "Pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Music." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 1-35.
- Feld, Steven, and Dennis Tedlock, eds. 1996. *A Sense of Place*. Albuquerque, N. Mex.: American School for Social Research.
- Féris, F.-J. 1869. *Histoire générale de la musique*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères.
- Fields, Barbara. 1982. "Ideology and Race in American History." In *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, 143-76. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Gero, and Maria Wölflingseder, eds. 1995. *Biologismus, Rassismus, Nationalismus: Rechte Ideologien im Vormarsch*. Vienna: Promedia.
- Fishkin, Shelley Fisher. 1993. *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African American Voices*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1995. "Interrogating 'Whiteness,' Complicating 'Blackness': Remapping American Culture." *American Quarterly* 47: 428-66.
- Floyd, Samuel A., Jr. 1995. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedmann, Aron. 1908. *Der synagogale Gesang: Eine Studie*. 2d, expanded edition. Berlin: C. Boas Nachf. 1st ed. 1904.
- Gabard, Krim, ed. 1996. *Jammin' at the Margins: Jazz and the American Cinema*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Kwame Anthony Appiah, eds. 1986. "Race," *Writing, and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geiss, Immanuel. 1988. *Geschichte des Rassismus*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- . 1995. "Rassismus." In Fischer and Wölflingseder 1995: 91-107.
- Gennari, John. 1996. "Passing for Italian." *Transition: An International Review* 6, 4 (no. 72, Winter): 36-49.
- Gikandi, Simon. 1996. *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gilman, Sander L., and Karen Remmer, eds. 1994. *Renewing Jewish Culture in Germany: Life and Literature since 1989*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gossert, Thomas. 1997. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, 2d ed. Race and American Culture. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. 1981. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: W. W. Norton.

- Gourlay, Kenneth A. 1978. "Towards a Reassessment of the Ethnomusicologist's Role in Research." *Ethnomusicology* 22: 1-36.
- . 1982. "Towards a Humanizing Ethnomusicology." *Ethnomusicology* 26: 411-20.
- Gray, Herman. 1995. *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness"*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. 1991. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, Stuart. [1987] 1996. "New Ethnicities." In Baker, Diawara, and Lindborg 1996: 210-22. University of Chicago Press.
- Hann, Charles. 1988. *Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid*. Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music.
- Hannaford, Ivan. 1996. *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*. Washington and Baltimore: The Woodrow Wilson Center and The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hemetek, Ursula, ed. 1996a. *Echo der Vielfalt/Echoes of Diversity: Traditionelle Musik von Minderheiten/ethnischen Gruppen—Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups/Minorities*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
- Hemetek, Ursula. 1996b. "Einführung." In Hemetek 1996a: 11-16.
- Herbert, Christopher. 1991. *Culture and Anomie*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried. [1778-79] 1975. "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern" and *Völklieder*. Stuttgart: Reclam.
- Hernon, Marcia. 1974. "Analysis: The Herding of Sacred Cows." *Ethnomusicology* 18: 219-62.
- Herskovits, Melville. 1941. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Hill, Mike, ed. 1997. *Whiteness: A Critical Reader*. New York: New York University Press.
- Hollinger, David A. 1995. *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hood, Mande. 1982. *The Ethnomusicologist*, 2d ed. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press.
- hooks, bell. 1995. *Killing Race: Ending Racism*. New York: Holt.
- Horsman, Reginald. 1981. *Race and Manifest Destiny*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Idn Khaldun. [1377] 1958. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Trans. by Franz Rosenthal. 3 vols. New York: Pantheon.
- Ignatiev, Noel. 1995. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.
- Initiative Minderheitenjahr. 1994. *Wege zu Minderheiten in Österreich: Ein Handbuch*. Vienna: Verlag der Apfel.
- Jackson, George Pullen. 1943. *White and Negro Spirituals*. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin.

- Jones, LeRoi. 1966. "The Changing Same (R&B and New Black Music)." In *Black Music*, 180-211. New York: Morrow.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. 1968. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Keil, Charles. 1982. "Applied Ethnomusicology and a Rebirth of Music from the Spirit of Tragedy." *Ethnomusicology* 26: 407-11.
- Keil, Charles, and Steven Feld. 1994. *Music Grooves*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kelly, Robin D. G. 1994. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press.
- Kerman, Joseph. 1985. *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kircher, Athanasius. 1650. *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni*. Rome: Francesco Corbelli.
- Klemer Music. 1996. *Klemer Music: A Marriage of Heaven and Earth*. Ellipsis Arts 4090.
- Krader, Barbara. 1980. "Ethnomusicology." In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed. London: Macmillan, 6: 51-63.
- Kramer, Lawrence. 1990. *Music as Cultural Practice*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Laflau, Joseph-François. 1724. *Mœurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*. 2 vols. Paris: Saugrain et Hochereau.
- Lainig, Major Alexander Gordon. 1825. *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Sochina Countries*. London: John Murray.
- La Pétouse, Jean François de Galup. 1799. *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1785-1788*. Trans. 2d ed. London.
- de Laujardière, Guillaume Chenu. 1996. *Relation d'un voyage à la côte des Cafres (1686-1689)*. Paris: Les Éditions de Paris.
- de Lérty, Jean. [1585] 1990. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*. Trans. Janet Whaley. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lipsitz, George. 1994. *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place*. New York: Verso.
- Lomax, Alan. 1939. "Folk Song Style." *American Anthropologist* 61: 927-54.
- Lott, Eric. 1993. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lubiano, Wahneema, ed. 1997. *The House That Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain*. New York: Pantheon.
- MacAllister, David. 1979. "The Astonished Ethno-Muse." *Ethnomusicology* 23: 179-89.
- McClary, Susan. 1991. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. New York: Routledge.
- Meinjes, Louise. 1990. "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Media-dion of Musical Meaning." *Ethnomusicology* 34: 37-73.

INTRODUCTION

- Merriam, Alan P. 1959. "African Music." In *Continuity and Change in African Cultures*, ed. William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, 49-86. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Metzger, Milton F. 1928. *Phonography in Folk Music: American Negro Songs in New Notation*. Introduction by Carl E. Seashore. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. 1995. *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Monson, Ingrid. 1995. "The Problem with White Hipness: Race, Gender, and Cultural Conceptions of Jazz Historical Discourses." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48: 396-427.
- Montaigne. 1952. *Essais*. Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères.
- Mursikäs. 1993. *The Last Jewish Music of Transylvania*. Hannibal HNCD 1373.
- Nerl, Bruno, and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. 1991. *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music: Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 1992. *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1954. *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Rpt. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.
- Pinkerton, John, ed. 1808-14. *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World: Many of Which Are Now First Translated into English; Digested on a New Plan*. 17 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme.
- Porter, Pamela M. 1998. *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge.
- Radano, Ronald M. 1993. *New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton's Cultural Critique*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996. "Denoting Difference: The Writing of the Slave Spirituals." *Critical Inquiry* 22: 506-44.
- . In press. "Black Noise, White Mastery." In *Decomposition*, ed. Philip Brett, Sue Ellen Case, and Susan Leigh Foster. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Rodiger, David R. 1991. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso.
- Rosado, Renato. 1989. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* 26: 107-22.
- Rose, Paul Lawrence. 1992. *Wagner, Race, and Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rose, Tricia. 1994. *Black Noise, Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Middletown, Conn. and Hanover, N.H. University Press of New England.
- Roussau, Jean-Jacques. 1975. *A Complete Dictionary of Music*. New York: AMS Press. Reprint of the 1779 English translation.

- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Scarborough, Dorothy. 1975. *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Scott, Joan W. 1991. "The Evidence of Experience." *Critical Inquiry* 17: 773-97.
- . 1995. "Multiculturalism and the Politics of Identity." In *The Identity in Question*, ed. John Rajchman, 3-14. New York: Routledge.
- Seeger, Anthony. 1987. *Why Sayé Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1991. "Styles of Musical Ethnography." In Nerd and Bohlman 1991: 324-55.
- Slobin, Mark. 1982. "How the Fiddler Got on the Roof." In *Folk Music and Modern Sound*, ed. William Ferris and Mary Hart, 21-31. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Solte, Ruth, ed. 1993. *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Soilers, Werner. 1986. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997. *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sonnack, Oscar. [1927] 1983. "An American School of Composition: Do We Want and Need It?" In *Oscar Sonneck and American Music*, ed. William Lichtenwanger, 158-66. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Carey Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. London: Macmillan.
- Stafford, Barbara. 1991. *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Science*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Stocking, George W., Jr. 1968. *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1994. "The Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race." *Modernism/Modernity* 1: 4-16.
- Stokes, Martin, ed. 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford: Berg.
- Sumarsam. 1995. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swed, John F. 1969. "An American Anthropological Dilemma: The Politics of Afro-American Culture." In *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell Hymes, 153-81. New York: Pantheon.
- Thomas, Downing A. 1995. *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment*. Perspectives in Music History and Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomlinson, Gary. 1993. *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a History of the Others*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1995. "Ideologies of Aztec Song." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48: 343-79.

- Torgovnick, Mariana. 1990. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tucker, Bruce. 1989. "Tell Tchaikovsky the News: Post-Modernism, Popular Culture, and the Emergence of Rock 'n' Roll." *Black Music Research Journal* 9: 271-95.
- Von Eschen, Penny M. 1997. *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anti-Colonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wallaschek, Richard. 1893. *Primitive Music: An Inquiry into the Origin and Development of Music, Song, Instruments, Dances and Pantomimes of Savage Races*. London: Longmans, Green.
- Waterman, Richard. 1948. "Ho! Rhythm in Negro Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1: 24-37.
- . 1952. "African Influence on the Music of the Americas. In *Acculturation in the Americas*, ed. Sol Tax, 207-18. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. 1978. *Zur Interethnik: Donatschubaren, Siedentürger Sachsen und ihre Nachbarn*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- West, Cornel. 1987. "Minority Discourse and the Pitfalls of Canon Formation." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 1: 193-201.
- . 1988. "On Afro-American Popular Music: From Bebop to Rap." In *Prophetic Fragments*, 177-87. Grand Rapids, Mich., and Trenton, N.J.: Erdmans/Africa World Press.
- . 1989. *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1994. *Race Matters*. New York: Vintage.
- White, H. Roger. forthcoming. "Caste and Patronage in Hindustani Musics." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Wiegman, Robyn. 1995. *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Young, Robert J. C. 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. New York: Routledge.

PART I

Body/Dance